THE GUARDIAN WISHES ALL READERS THE BEST OF HOLIDAYS

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly
15 cents
VOL. 14, NO. 11 NEW YORK, DECEMBER 25, 1961

BRITAIN'S HIGH STAKES IN THE CONGO

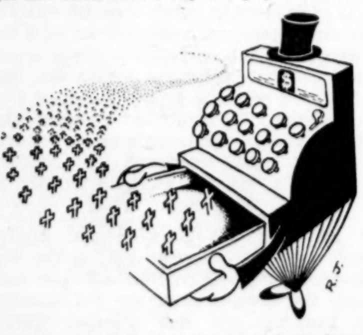
West seeking way to retain Katanga products and profit

By David Wesley

BY 1923 it had become politically untenable for Britain to hold onto Ireland by force. Yet influential elements of the British ruling class had a sizable stake in the Irish economy. The conflict between these political and economic necessities was resolved by partition; the advanced northern province of Ulster was detached to remain in the Empire while the rest of Ireland, peasant-poor and ill-equipped for progress, was set free.

Thirty-eight years later Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien, author of **The Shaping of Modern Ireland,** arrived in the Congo's seceded Katanga province as head of the United Nations mission there. What O'Brien saw was the same old imperial answer to the same old dying-imperialism problem. In the Congo version, the clashing political and economic realities had struck Belgium, the colony's master, which had launched the partition campaign, but the Irish diplomat was not long in discovering that it was Ireland's old master that was bent on completing the process.

TRUTH HIDDEN: After six months on the job, O'Brien, resigning, informed the UN and the press that the British, with the help of Belgium, France and British-run Rhodesia, had been "sabotaging" the UN effort to rid Katanga of white mercenaries and reunify the Congo. His blast tore away the paper curtain that for more than a year had kept from general public knowledge the Western machinations in the Congo. To the Asian-African UN members the O'Brien revelations were no surprise. But the Western press had consistently ignored Asian-African complaints, playing up only Soviet-bloc denunciations of the Congo fiasco in an attempt to brand the opposition to the Hammarskjold operation as "a Communist plot to wreck the UN."



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A DIGNIFIED PRAYER FOR JUSTICE AT A TRIAL OF FREEDOM RIDERS
In Albany, Ga., the cops just stood by for a time, then made mass arrests of Negroes

WHITES PROMISE 'FIRST STEPS' TOWARD INTEGRATION

Albany, Ga., truce follows Negro roundup

By Joanne Grant

AFTER A WEEK of demonstrations during which 750 persons were arrested, Negroes and whites of Albany, Ga., agreed upon "first steps" toward desegregation, along with a "truce" on mass demonstrations. After a day of discussions Dec. 18 the whites agreed to: (1) Police compliance with an Interstate Commerce Commission order to desegregate travel facilities; (2) Release of all prisoners who are property owners or employed on signature bonds; (3) Reduction of two local Freedom Riders' bonds from $750 to $200 and out-of-town Riders' bonds from $1,000 to $400, and (4) presentation of Negroes' demands to the city government on Jan. 11.

Negroes agreed to end their boycott of white stores, halt demonstrations and wait at least a month before renewing negotiations for desegregation. They had been pressing for desegregated travel facilities, release of all prisoners, including the Freedom Riders, and the establishment of a permanent bi-racial committee for integration.

KING RELEASED: The Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., jailed with other demonstrators had said a day earlier that he expected to spend Christmas in jail. "I hope thousands will join me," he said. While he indicated some dissatisfaction with the agreements, Dr. King signed a bond for his own release Dec. 18. He said: "I would not want to stand in the way of meaningful negotiations."

By that day the jails of three south Georgia counties had been filled with 500 or more Negro demonstrators who had marched through the streets of Albany in protest against the arrests of 11 Freedom Riders and 200 earlier demonstrators. Some of those arrested had been released on bond; juveniles, some 10 years old, had been released in custody of their parents.

Dr. King said: "The guards in this jail call me 'boy.' I might add I am the pastor of a church with 4,000 members."

Dr. King's jailer, Sheriff Frederick C. Shapell, was described by David Miller in the New York **Herald Tribune,** Dec. 18, as "five-six in height and a pot-bellied 260 pounds." Miller added: "His hair was uncombed, his chin dribbled with saliva and his glasses were smudged. A sheriff's badge glowed on his dirty blue, open-necked sports shirt." While Miller interviewed Dr. W. G. Anderson, leader of the Albany Movement, the city's civil rights group, the sheriff cut the interview short, asking if that "wasn't enough personal glory for the 'nigger'."

'SLAVE KINGDOM': Albany, Ga., in the heart of the state's "black belt," has a population of 56,000—26,000 Negroes and 30,000 whites. Almost 60 years ago the formerly prosperous community was described by W. E. B. Du Bois in **The Souls of Black Folk** as "show and tinsel built

(Continued on Page 4)

STOPGAP MEASURES FAIL TO SOLVE BASIC PROBLEMS

AFL-CIO convention applies some patches

By Robert E. Light

AFL-CIO PRESIDENT George Meany patched some holes in the federation's joints at its biennial convention, Dec. 7-14, in Bal Harbour, Fla., but the master plumber did not resolve basic problems. There were still many drips in the AFL-CIO plumbing. The need for new pipes was apparent.

As a helper, Meany had Secretary of Labor Arthur Goldberg. He was determined to keep labor united behind President Kennedy's foreign and domestic policies and lobbied openly on the convention floor.

Meany had a difficult assignment. Before the convention many of the federation's top leaders were barely on speaking terms. The problem that separated them and threatened most to split the federation was a jurisdictional battle between industrial and craft unions.

MEANY BLAMED: Industrial union leaders, headed by Auto Workers president Walter P. Reuther, were incensed at the craft union's efforts to obtain maintenance work for their members at large plants at the expense of industrial union members. Reuther and others openly accused Meany of siding with the crafts.

They also blamed him for the stagnation in the labor movement. Union membership has declined since the AFL and CIO merger in 1955, particularly in industrial unions hit by automation. The former CIO leaders would like the merged federation to lead a huge organizing drive and to pressure Washington for legislation against unemployment and for welfare spending.

A breach between the AFL-CIO and the Negro community was created last October when the federation's executive council censured A. Philip Randolph, the AFL-CIO's only Negro vice president, for demanding a vigorous program against jimcrow unions. Meany moved to heal the breach before the convention. He put the federation on record for legislation against discrimination in employment, even if it affected unions. He also met

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CASTRO
The epochal speech on Cuban socialism
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THE MAIL BAG
USM

From Jane McManus

MONTROSE, N.Y.

The love and appreciation so many felt for Jack has come to me in hundreds of messages over the past few sorrowful weeks. Each has been a very personal expression of grief and irreplaceable loss, each a beautiful and deeply moving tribute to a vital man and a meaningful life. If I have been unable, as yet, to answer these messages personally, please understand that it is because they have meant too much.

Jane McManus

Incredible policies

ST. PETERSBURG, FLA.

With each day the U.S. government's German policies become more incredible. Not only is the convicted war criminal Foersch in command of West German armed forces, Nazi General Hans Speidel in command of NATO ground forces, including U.S. troops, and "major war criminal list" Adolf Heusinger in charge of NATO planning, but Adm. Gerhard Wagner, Hitler's naval planner, commands the northern naval sector of NATO and Hermann Goering's Ernst Kusserow heads the NATO air defense staff.

According to AP, Nov. 7, 1961, Wiesbaden, Germany, the U.S. Secretary of Defense has decorated Gen. Joseph Kammhuber with the Legion of Merit for reorganizing the German Air Forces.

Members of the "Crusade for Europe," do you remember that all these men served Adolf Hitler and his murderous purposes loyally and well until it became obvious to all that he could not win?

Were the Germans right who told me as I left Germany in October, 1947, that the only thing wrong with Hitler was that he lost the war, and that he lost it only it because the U.S. was on the wrong side? Were the 100 million men, women and children sacrificed to dispose of this monstrous conspiracy sacrificed in vain? U.S. German policies for the past 16 postwar years seem to answer these questions in the affirmative.

Hugh B. Hester
Brig. Gen., U.S. Army (Ret.)

The dispute on tests

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

I want to comment on Dr. Linus Pauling's letter (GUARDIAN, Nov. 13) in answer to a letter by "Name Withheld" of Mill Valley. In spite of my great admiration for Dr. Pauling, on the question of whether the Soviet Union's resumption of nuclear testing increases or decreases the danger of nuclear war, I must agree with "Name Withheld" that it decreases it.

Dr. Pauling says "It is not a courageous act of 'Name Withheld' to remain anonymous." Perhaps "Name Withheld" may have a family to support and a job to protect? In that case he would be "sticking his neck out" but would contribute very little by signing his name, and would be showing not courage but folly and irresponsibility. Dr. Pauling, on the other hand, being a famous scientist, can wield tremendous influence by simply signing his name and therefore has good reason to do so.

Dr. Pauling seems to lump "the Soviet Union, the U.S. and other nations" together and insists that militaristic acts by any of them increase the danger of nuclear war. When Hitler's forces marched into the Rhineland a few "militaristic acts" by the allied powers would certainly have nipped World War II in the bud and saved millions of human lives. Hence militaristic acts by the right countries at the right times can be a deterrent to war.

B. C.

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

CHICAGO, Dec. 14 (UPI) — The American Medical Association urged mankind today to "stop worrying about radioactive fallout and concentrate on getting ready for Christmas."

—**N. Y. Times, Dec. 15**

One-year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: R.L., New York, N.Y.

I see by the papers . . .

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

I took part in this demonstration which started at the Russian Mission and included a march to the UN. The press carried stories about 2,000 people demonstrating against Russian tests and the proposed (at that time) 50-megaton blast.

This is not true. How could anyone say we were anti-Russian when cries of "Ban the Bomb," "No More Tests, East or West," and "1, 2, 3, 4, We Don't Want Another War," were chanted by the demonstrators? We weren't anti-Russian or anti-American. We were anti-bomb and anti-war. We were pro-peace.

Gerald Bornstein

A suggestion

OCEANO, CALIF.

I am writing to suggest that you issue your articles on A-bomb shelters in leaflet form.

Spencer Howland

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

REP. FRANK W. BOYKIN (D-Ala.) said last week that Theron Lamar Caudle, former Asst. U.S. Atty. General, was so loyal he spent his vacation in Italy "studying the threat of the dangers of communism." The Renault Cahmpagne Co. of New Jersey paid for the trip. One of its purposes, Caudle said, was to unfreeze $96,000 held by the company in Italian banks. The Madison (Wis.) **Capital Times** commented on Boykin's defense: "If this trend continues, it is not inconceivable that some day a new plea will be added to those made by defendants in court proceedings. They will be able to plead "guilty," "not guilty," "nolo contendere," or "anti-communist."

President Truman, who also defended his mink-coated Administration as anti-communist, chose as house-cleaner Federal Judge Thomas F. Murphy, who as U.S. Atty. convicted Alger Hiss. After the Hiss case Murphy came to New York as a house-cleaning police commissioner, found little in the house to clean. On March 15, 1951, he said, "No organized gambling exists in New York today in which the police form any part at all. I know there is crime in the city, but if there is organized gambling it is not done with the aid or connivance of the Police Dept." On Sept. 25, 1951, after Murphy had passed on to the Federal bench, a grand jury told Murphy's successor the Dept. would have to remove all top officers responsible for prosecuting vice or gambling.

—**From the National Guardian, Dec. 26, 1951**

The threat to Cuba

LOS ANGELES

I have read with indignation in the GUARDIAN of Nov. 20, the report from Havana by your editor-in-exile, Cedric Belfrage, on a proposed further invasion attempt of Cuba sponsored by the U.S. in conjunction with the dictatorships of El Salvador, Guatemala, and Nicaragua. I would like you to know that this act of barbarism and piracy is being carried out without the consent of my fellow citizens of El Salvador and the people of the other Central American countries.

It is an open secret that the dictatorships in Central America are maintained by the force of arms supplied by the voracious and immoral ruling elite of the U.S.

We in Latin America will always condemn any aggression to Cuba or to any of our sister republics. To defend Cuba and her Revolution is to defend our sovereignty.

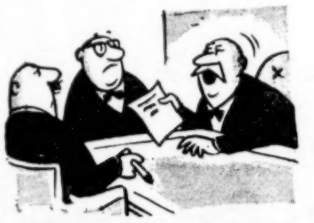
René Rivas Villasenor

'Freedom' test

STAMFORD, CONN.

Our government's colossal efforts in support of "Freedom Rides" are persistently carried out, not in Mississippi or Alabama, but in the middle of Europe, where we are now indeed testing "freedom" for the West Germans and the West Berliners by sending one military convoy after another, armed to the teeth, via the Autobahn all through the territory of East Germany.

John L. Fisher



Eccles in the London Daily Worker

"Perhaps, instead of calling it a layoff, we could put it to them as a longer weekend."

Progressive daily?

EAST ORANGE, N.J.

Yes, it was an heroic achievement. This small struggling weekly, the National Guardian, stood bravely these last 13 years combating the enemies of the American people.

However, we are to concern ourselves now with the present and the future. The fact is that we have no progressive press in our country. A weekly is no match for the powerful commercial press. A daily is an urgent need.

American progressives should organize a compact zealous group to bring about the founding of a progressive daily to carry on the work of the National Guardian on a higher level.

H. Drucker

"Freedom" review

BOSTON, MASS.

I have just read Corliss Lamont's review of Scott Nearing's new book, "Freedom: Promise and Menace." (Guardian, Dec. 11). It was interesting to note his reasons for taking issue so strongly with Dr. Nearing (about the meaning of "freedom").

How can liberals of any stripe still hold on, nostalgically, to "time-honored words" that have become in our day so utterly meaningless, dead! Mr. Lamont really thinks he has a point in calling attention to Nearing's ability to keep on "writing and publishing anti-capitalist and pro-socialist books" as proof that we have freedom and democracy with their ancient meanings still in vogue. Doesn't he know that this had often been accomplished in jail under the worst tyrannies?

Victor Rine

NATIONAL
GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

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Published weekly by Weekly Guardian Associates, Inc., 197 E. 4th St., New York 9, Tel: ORegon 3-3800

SUBSCRIPTION RATES, U.S., U.S. possessions, $5 a year; Canada and Latin America, $6 a year, elsewhere $6.50 a year. First class and airmail rates on request. United Kingdom 35s a year, payable GUARDIAN London Bureau, 108 Lower-Ham Rd., Kingston, Surrey, England. Single copies 15c. Reentered as second class matter Feb. 20, 1953, at the Post Office at New York, N.Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

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JOHN T. McMANUS (1904-1961), General Manager, 1948-1961

Vol. 14, No. 11 401 December 25, 1961

REPORT TO READERS

The German monster

THE INDICTMENT OF GENERAL HEUSINGER by Charles R. Allen Jr. on Page 3—the full story will appear in a pamphlet to be issued early in 1961—cannot be dismissed by the State Department's press officer Lincoln White(wash) as a "crude and ludicrous propaganda exercise." That is how he characterized the Soviet charges against Heusinger Dec. 12.

Propaganda it is, and sorely needed today to remind Americans and Western Europeans that one of Hitler's most intimate advisers before and during World War II is now the chief of NATO's Military Committee in Permanent Session in Washington. The crudeness may be reserved for minds like White's which deliberately choose to blink the fact that Heusinger and all the German General Staff were not only intensely loyal to the Fuehrer but, along with the great landowners (including the church) and the cartel-industrialists, manipulated Hitler's rise to power. These are documented, indisputable facts, and they cannot be washed away any more than the blood of the 20 million people who died as the result of German madness in World War II.

HEUSINGER (WHOSE NAME WAS mysteriously dropped from the first list of German war criminals in 1945, and Gen. Hans Speidel sired the new Bundeswehr, the army of the German Federal Republic. Speidel is now head of the NATO ground forces in Europe. The Bundeswehr, which numbers 314,000 men, supplies eight divisions to NATO and will increase this number to 12. NATO's 15 nations together provide 28 divisions. West German conscription has been lengthened from 12 to 18 months; active duty for reservists has been extended; critical war supplies and ammunitions have been increased: mobilization measures have been taken to freeze critical workers. The West Germans not only dominate NATO, but West Germany dominates the European economy as the dominant force in the Common Market and as the most highly industrialized state in Europe outside the U.S.S.R. This phenomenon was no accident: it was carefully planned, crafted and effected under the guidance of three administrations in Washington. The German Wonder was made in America.

AS THOUGH THESE DEVELOPMENTS were not chilling enough, the most frightening contribution to this buildup took place in Washington in November when Chancellor Adenauer came to call on President Kennedy and brought along the heir-apparent, Defense Minister Strauss, and the new Nazi Foreign Minister Schroeder. Adenauer went home smugly satisfied; Strauss remained behind for a time to work out the agreement reached on his favorite project: making NATO an independent atomic power.

At present bases in NATO nations have the means of delivering nuclear devices: fighter bombers, Honest John missiles, Nike ground-to-air missiles and eight-inch howitzers. U.S. law, however, provides that nuclear warheads be kept under American control. The Washington agreement of November, indorsed in principle on Dec. 12 by the Allied Council of Ministers in Paris, would turn over to NATO the warheads and the right to decide when to use them.

Of course, said the New York **Times** on Nov. 24, there is "no plan to turn nuclear warheads over to the West German forces except as part of explicit military arrangements to meet combat situations." What this journalistic gobbledygook means is that the plan is to turn the nuclear warheads over to a German-dominated NATO as part of U.S.-German strategy against the Soviet Union.

Officially the law must be changed before the warheads are turned over, but there is little doubt that the plan has already been included in NATO's strategic policy.

IT SEEMS INCREDIBLE that the nations of Western Europe, so recently Hitler's victims, are willing, in effect, to subordinate themselves via NATO to the new German monster. It is equally incredible that so few voices are raised in the U.S. against the policy of doom that our government is pursuing. We have ignored repeated warnings by the Soviet Union that it will never permit a nuclear-armed West Germany. Yet that is exactly what is taking place. The intransigence is not in Moscow; it is in Washington. And there too must rest the onus for the consequences.

We doubt that the President was turning this over in his mind as he rode through streets in Caracas and Bogota lined with bayonets in this season of peace on earth; or that Secretary Rusk was speculating on it as he paid his goodwill call at the abbatoir in Madrid to the butcher of Spanish freedom.

But we hope that America itself will reflect, as the year comes to an end, and resolve to bring the madness to a halt.

—THE GUARDIAN

FACTS BACK SOVIET CALL FOR TRIAL

Lots of evidence against Heusinger as a war criminal

HITLER'S FOLLOWERS—EAGER TO BE HIS SUCCESSORS
Defense Minister Strauss and Gens. Heusinger and Speidel

By Charles R. Allen Jr.

A GLOBAL UPROAR broke Dec. 12 over a slender, sharp-featured, punctilious figure who, as chairman of the Military Representatives Committeee of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, is stationed in the Pentagon in Washington, D.C.

Although this fastidious little man belies the popular image of a key international militarist, he is precisely that. To his post as principal military strategist and adviser to the executive body of NATO, he brings 46 years of experience, virtually all of them as a top general staff officer. Indeed, he was the Chief of Operations and Plans of the Nazi Wehrmacht's General Staff (Oberkommando des Heeres, OKH), working daily from 1939 to 1944 with his superior, Adolf Hitler.

He is the German general, Adolf Ernst Heusinger. Last week at a jammed press conference in Moscow, the Soviet Union released the contents of a formal note demanding that the United States arrest Heusinger and turn him over to the Russians for trial as a war criminal.

TIGHT SILENCE: The State Department belittled the Soviet Union's move as a "crude and ludicrous propaganda exercise . . . unworthy of notice or dignifying with any comment."

In Paris for a NATO ministers meeting, Heusinger maintained tight-lipped silence in the face of what promises to be a continuing controversy.

Just what are the facts about Heusinger's war crimes?

The facts in the Heusinger matter are such that his complicity in the atrocities of the Nazi regime can be readily proved. Let me add, too, that during my research into Heusinger and his role in the Nazi Wehrmacht, it was a comparatively easy task to uncover all the evidence needed to conduct a persuasive case under the sections of the Charter of the International Military Tribunal providing for the prosecution and punishment of fascist war criminals.

ALLIED DATA: Furthermore, the most persuasive evidence comes from Heusinger himself and is in documents worked up not only by the Russians but by both the American and British prosecution staffs during the Nuremberg trials after World War II. Ironically, Heusinger's own appearance during the Nuremberg trials was as a witness against his former colleagues on the Nazi General Staff, including Field Marshal Wilhelm Keitel and Gen. Alfred Jodl, Heusinger's immediate superior; both were hanged.

Heusinger admitted in testimony at Nuremberg on Jan. 7, 1946, that he was promoted at a time when Hitler had purged all but the most loyal Nazis on his General Staff. "From the beginning of the war in 1939 until autumn 1940," he said, "I was [deputy of Gen. Jodl] of the Operation Section of OKH, and from autumn, 1940, until July 20, 1944, Chief of Operations at OKH."

Even before then—as deputy to Jodl—Heusinger figured prominently in the strategic planning of all the Nazi invasions. When Hitler determined to invade the Lowlands and France, he kept his scheme so secret that he excluded even his own General Staff from it. "Our studies," Hitler wrote in documents captured by the Allies after World War II, must not be left to the General Staff. Secrecy would then no longer be assured." Hitler thereupon handpicked a small planning staff to implement his aggression in violation of international treaties Germany then had with the countries involved. Participating in "Case White"—as these invasion plans were coded—were Jodl, Col. Blumentritt, von Rundstet, von Manstein and, as deputy to Jodl, Heusinger.

ADVISER ON U.S.S.R.: Most criminal was Heusinger's role in "Case Barbarosa," the planned invasion of the Soviet Union and its implementation in 1941. Heusinger admitted the prominent role which his section was entrusted with by Hitler. "When Hitler took over Supreme Command of the Army," Heusinger testified, "he gave to the Chief of the General Staff of the Army the function of advising him on all operational matters in the Russian theater." So, Heusinger explained, this made him, as Chief of Operations, "responsible for all matters in the operational areas in the East . . ."

This constitutes **the** basis for charges against Heusinger because he was, thereupon, both in a strategical, general sense and in a specific tactical way, deeply involved in the heinous atrocities committed during the Russian campaign from 1941 to 1944.

A special study of Heusinger by the American Jewish Congress (introduced into the **Congressional Record** of April 19, 1961, by Senator Wayne Morse, D-Ore.) states that "as G-3 . . . chief of operations and planning at Hitler''s supreme headquarters for all German military actions on the Russian front . . . Heusinger initialed and forwarded for action two military orders [directly issuing from Hitler himself—C.A.] that were decisive in the Nuremberg judgments: the so-called Commissar Order and the so-called Commando Order."

SLAUGHTER ORDERED: In the Commando Order, the American Jewish Congress study notes, "Hitler directed his field commanders as follows: 'From now on all enemies on so-called commando missions . . . are to be slaughtered to the last man . . . Under no circumstances can they be expected to be treated according to the rules of the Geneva Convention. If it should be necessary for reasons of interrogation to initially spare one man or two, then they are to be shot immediately after interrogation.'"

The Commissar Order (which Heusinger initialed and implemented in commands to the field) directed: "The war against Russia . . . cannot be conducted in a knightly fashion. This struggle is one of ideologies and racial differences and will have to be conducted with unprecedented, unmerciful and unrelenting harshness . . ."

Moreover, in August, 1942, Hitler turned all partisan warfare over to Heusinger's section. "All matters of the struggle against partisans . . . from now on will be directed by the operational sector of general headquarters attached to the supreme commander of general headquarters," Hitler ordered. From then on innumerable directives signed by Heusinger were sent out of his office urging "strongest measures of terror" that led to the slaughter of thousands of innocent civilians.

FOR 'BANDITS': An example of this can be seen from the following: In December of 1942, a sector commander of the Wehrmacht asked Heusinger for specific instructions as to what to do with partisans who deserted to the Germans. Here is the text of Heusinger's reply: "Dec. 7, 1942. To Chief of General Staff, Army Group Center, Herr Lt.-Gen. Woehler, Secret. Subject: Bandit Deserters. Treatment of deserters laid down in Supreme Command Instructions for fighting bandits in East, paragraphs 11, 84 and 87. (Signed) Chief, Operations Dept., Army, General Staff. Heusinger.'"

The orders cited by Heusinger read: "Captured bandits are to be shot or hanged. Deserters are to be treated as prisoners. As a rule prisoners, after short questioning, are to be shot on the spot . . . Every unit commander is responsible for seeing to it that captured bandits and civilians caught in active fighting (including women) are shot, or, better, hanged."

MASSACRE SQUADS: But by far the most single important evidence against Heusinger is his command relationship to the dreaded **Einsatzgruppen**, which were literally the mobile execution battalions which ranged through Eastern Europe massacring an estimated 1,400,000 Jews and Slavs. They were created by a formal agreement between the Nazi Wehrmacht and the SS for this specific task: murder. They murdered with rifles, machine guns, by hanging, garroting and mobile gas vans. The Einsatzgruppen followed in the wake of the Wehrmacht; often conducting their killing operations right on the front lines; at times in rear areas.

The U.S. State Department in an official letter to Morse denied categorically that Heusinger had anything to do with the Einsatz and, indeed, "had been cleared of any complicity in the atrocities of the Nazi regime."

On Jan. 7, 1946, while developing testimony that showed "the Einsatzgruppen were under Wehrmacht command," then-Colonel Telford Taylor for the American prosecution submitted the following affidavit at Nuremberg by Gen. Ernst Rohde, chief of Himmler's Command Staff-SS:

"My task [the SS General swore] was to allocate the necessary forces to the high SS and police officers engaged in fighting the bandits [partisans], the Einsatzgruppen and to ensure that they had sufficient support from Wehrmacht forces. This task entailed direct conversations with the leading officers of the Wehrmacht leadership staff, that is to say, with Generals Warlimont, von Buttlar, Guderian, Zeitsler, Heusinger, Wenk and Cols. Count Kielmannsegg and von Bonin." (International Military Tribunal, Vol. 4, pp. 22-23, affidavits 17-18).

OWN WORDS: Finally, here is the admission of Generalleutnant Adolf Ernst Heusinger himself before the Nuremberg Tribunal (Aff. 20-USA 564):

"Directives as to the manner and methods of carrying on counter-partisan operations were issued by the OKW—Keitel—to the OKH upon orders from Hitler and after consultation with Himmler," he said. He then further admitted that all of these operations—including the Einsatz-Wehrmacht operations—were in turn directed by him and his department: "The OKH was responsible merely for the transmission of these orders to Army Groups, for instance, such orders as those concerning the treatment to be accorded commissars and communists, those concerning . . . the basic principles governing reprisals against the inhabitants."

Heusinger added: "It had always been my personal opinion that the treatment of the civilian population and the methods of anti-partisan warfare in operational areas presented the highest political and military leaders with a welcomed opportunity of carrying out their plans, namely the systematic extermination of Slavism and Jewry."

And this, stated Heusinger, impeded his work: "Entirely independent of this, I always regarded these cruel methods as military insanity, because they only helped to make combat against the enemy unnecessarily more difficult."

One can range far beyond these materials in destroying the fraudulent and dangerous defense of Heusinger by the State Department. However, space does not permit this here. But I would rest my entire case against Heusinger on his own sworn testimony that he admittedly was "merely (sic) responsible for transmitting orders" to the Wehrmacht to commit mass murder.

The British and Katanga profits

The kind of reporting you find in the GUARDIAN, such as David Wesley's analysis of the Congo situation, on page 1, is what makes the paper special. More Americans should have the GUARDIAN's viewpoint. Do your friends a good turn by sending them subscriptions. Special introductory sub, $1 for 13 weeks. A one-year sub is $5.

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GOVERNMENT STATISTICS CHALLENGED

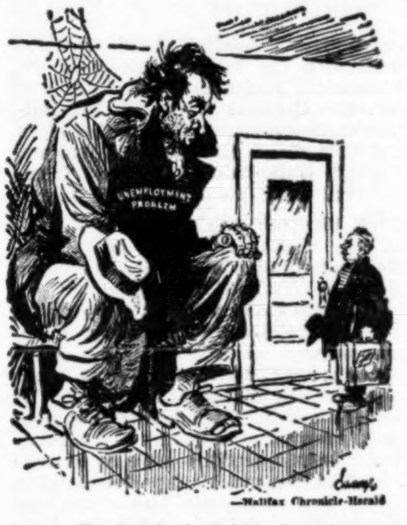
Big Business pressure keeps jobless figures at minimum

By Russ Nixon
Special to the Guardian

WASHINGTON

PRESIDENT KENNEDY and Secy. of Labor Arthur Goldberg have boasted that unemployment figures for mid-November showed much improvement over mid-October. Total unemployment of 4,000,000 in November was unchanged from the month before, but the seasonally adjusted unemployment rate fell from 6.8 to 6.1. The President on Dec. 7 told the AFL-CIO convention in Florida that "we now have an all-time high for November—67,349,000 people working."

Compared with November, 1960, the latest unemployment total and the jobless percentage were unchanged. "Hard-core" long-term unemployment was nearly 40% larger than a year ago, but the number of involuntary part-time workers had fallen.



Chambers in the Halifax Chronicle-Herald
"They said you were out. So I waited."

The Administration's optimism rested on dubious factors which neither Kennedy nor Goldberg mentioned. Of the officially predicted 1.2 million increase of the total labor force due to population growth during the last year, only 126,000 were absorbed by added civilian jobs. Another 224,000 were taken up by Kennedy's increase of the Armed Forces. Most significantly, 850,000 would-be workers were swept under the rug by statistical hocus-pocus which eliminated them altogether from the labor force, and therefore from the jobless count.

JUGGLED FIGURES: The Commissioner of Labor Statistics of the U.S. Dept. of Labor, Ewan Clague, on Feb. 9, 1961, told the Congressional Joint Economic Committee: "On the basis of long-term trends in labor force participation rates by age and sex, we could anticipate another rise of 1.2 million in the labor force in 1961." Clague warned: "However, slack business conditions may depress the rate of labor force growth" and estimated therefore that "on a conservative estimate, the labor force should grow by one million workers during 1961."

The President's chief economist, Walter W. Heller, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, told the Joint Economic Committee on March 6 that the labor force had not grown as expected during the last three Eisenhower years and said: "This shortfall is attributable to the disappointing performance of the economy; many people have stayed out of the labor market although they would take employment if jobs were available." Dr. Heller suggested that jobless figures should be increased 561,000 to adjust for this understatement.

In contrast it is now apparent that the "shortfall" in the labor force during the first year after Kennedy's election amounts to 850,000. This suggests that, following Dr. Heller's justified observation earlier this year, full-time unemployment in November totaled around 5.4 million rather than four million.

SPECIAL COMMITTEE: Renewed attention is being given to the old dispute over how to count the unemployed. Business circles have always sought to minimize the statistical count of unemployment to lessen agitation for governmental action for full employment and continue the existence of a wage-depressing army of jobless. Both parties when in power have usually sought to hold down the statistical indications of unemployment.

On Nov. 10, Kennedy set up a special committee of six experts to review the government's data on employment and unemployment. Headed by Prof. R. A. Gordon of the University of California, the committee will try to restore "complete confidence" in the government's jobless estimates. On Dec. 18 the Joint Economic Committee's sub-committee on Economic Statistics headed by Sen. William Proxmire (D-Wis.) opened hearings on methods of estimating unemployment.

The current campaign to eliminate the unemployment problem by defining it away was initiated by an article in the September, 1961, **Readers Digest** entitled "Let's Look at Those 'Alarming' Unemployment Figures." Written by one of the magazine's roving editors, James Daniel, the article charges that the Dept. of Labor has juggled its figures "to magnify the unemployment problem" and in so doing "provides excellent fodder for the communist line." Washington correspondent Arthur Krock of the New York **Times** on Oct. 17 wrote a column, "The Misleading Nature of Unemployment Figures," in which he contended that the government's figures "lead to a false impression" and concluded that the jobless problem really isn't so serious.

LABOR SECRETARY GOLDBERG (R) VISITS AN UNEMPLOYMENT OFFICE
His department's statistics were challenged as minimizing the jobless problem

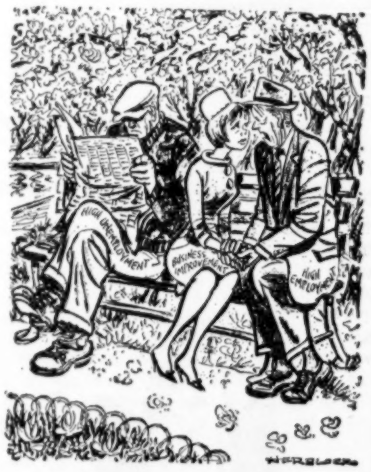
UNWORRIED: U.S. News and World Report has been seeking to establish that "Unemployment totals . . . are very much overstated . . . The real problem of unemployment is one of 900,000, not 4.5 million." The magazine on Oct. 23 published an interview with BLS chief Clague titled: "How Many Really Are Unemployed?" The subtitles suggest that unemployment isn't important: "Is the total padded . . . ? How many job seekers make up the 'hard core' . . . people who are really suffering for lack of work?" The suggested conclusion is that "fewer than one-fifth of four million jobless" are any cause for worry.

The effort to belittle the unemployment problem in this way has been countered by the opposite charge that official data understate the problem. Sen. Paul Douglas told the Senate on July 12 that if the involuntary part-time jobless are included in the estimates the "full-time equivalent loss for underemployment amounted to 1,504,000 or 2.4%." This estimate was confirmed Dec. 10 in a special report prepared by the Dept. of Labor and released by the Joint Economic Committee.

THE TRUE FIGURE: On Aug. 2, Douglas objected to the latest official estimate that the unemployment rate was 7% and told the Senate: "The percentage is in reality much higher than the published figures. The figure of 7% is derived by taking as the denominator the total number of the working force some 73 million persons, though at least 11 million of these people are self-employed and therefore could not be unemployed. If one takes the total number of those who seek wage and salaried labor, the actual percentage of unemployment is 8% instead of 7."

Combining his two corrections, Douglas estimated that at least 10% of the available labor force was unused. The National Planning Assn., a conservative private research group, in its study on "Chronic Unemployment" estimated that the equivalent of one million jobs are lost by various types of disguised unemployment. Taking all of these corrections together would raise the total equivalent full-time unemployment figure to seven or eight million, and to an overall unused labor rate of 10-12%.

Material distributed by the U.S. Dept. of Labor at the recent White House Regional Conferences on Full Employment and Economic Growth confirms the enormous size of the unsolved job problem. In outlining the "Challenge for the Year Ahead" (September, 1961, to September, 1962), the government reported that to reduce total unemployment to 4% (2.9 million), 6.5 million jobs will be needed. These new jobs will be necessary, the Labor Dept. reported, to offset the growth in the labor force, the rise of automation and productivity, and to give full employment to the underemployed.



Herblock in the Washington Post
"I was hoping we could get together alone."

Truce in Albany, Ga.

(Continued from Page 1)

upon a groan." It had been, Du Bois said, "perhaps the richest slave kingdom the modern world ever knew." A hundred years ago 150 barons commanded the labor of 6,000 Negroes, Du Bois wrote. The "barons" drove the slaves and ruined the land by planting cotton year after year for quick wealth. By 1903, when Du Bois wrote his book, the area had already decayed and though the Negroes, who then outnumbered the whites five to one, had been freed, they were bonded to the depleted land and to absentee landlords.

By December, 1961, the Negroes' lot was not much improved. There had been no desegregation in Albany. Police Chief Laurie Pritchett, who had kept order and had allowed gangs of hoodlums to attack Negro demonstrators, told newsmen he would not tolerate violence but he said: "We can't tolerate the NAACP or the Student Nonviolent Committee or any other 'nigger' organization to take over this town with mass demonstrations."

PROTESTS MADE: The conditions under which the demonstrators had been held—in crowded, unsanitary cells—has been protested by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee in wires to Atty. Gen. Robert Kennedy. SNCC also asked the Attorney General to prosecute city police for violating the Interstate Commerce Commission order to desegregate travel facilities. The Southern Conference Educational Fund protested the arrests in a wire to President Kennedy.

Dr. King repeated his request that President Kennedy issue a second Emancipation Proclamation and end all discrimination by issuing an executive order incorporating the 14th Amendment.

The Federal government had not acted during the week, though FBI investigators were on the scene.

In another Deep South community, Baton Rouge, La., police used tear gas to break up a demonstration by 1,500 Negroes who were protesting the arrest of 23 Congress of Racial Equality sit-in demonstrators. A Federal judge and state courts issued temporary injunctions restraining CORE from further demonstrations. Scores trying to demonstrate against previous arrests were hauled off to jail on Dec. 18. "We're herding them in like cattle," said a policeman.

Editor's rights violated, Immigration chief admits

COMMISSIONER J. M. SWING of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service has admitted that two of his officers acted improperly in questioning of M. S. Arnoni, editor and publisher of **The Minority of One,** an independent magazine critical of U.S. and Soviet cold war politics. The admission was in a letter dated Nov. 29 to the American Civil Liberties Union, which had protested the Immigration Service action. The letter assured the ACLU there would be no repetition of the incident.

Arnoni, an alien, is a 43-year-old journalist who suffered six years' imprisonment in a German concentration camp and detention on the island of Cyprus by the British in 1948 for his part in the fight for Israel's independence. He was called in for questioning by the Newark office of the Immigration Service after the Newark (N.J.) **Star Ledger** had described his publication as "communist." (The description was later retracted.)

For Braden and Wilkinson

GREETINGS for the New Year may be sent to Carl Braden and Frank Wilkinson serving one-year terms in Federal prison for refusing to answer questions of the House Un-American Activities Committee on First Amendment grounds. Greeting cards may contain a one-line handwritten message. The addresses are: Carl Braden, Allenwood Detention Camp, Allenwood, Pa., and Frank Wilkinson, PMB 2539, Camp Allenwood, Pa.

Guardian
Concert Night
Sunday, February 11
Emil Gilels at Carnegie Hall
in New York

FIVE-YEAR ORDEAL OF A TAFT-HARTLEY VICTIM

The Killian case and the divided court

By Lawrence Emery

JOHN J. KILLIAN, under a five-year sentence since November, 1956, on a charge of filing a false Taft-Hartley non-communist affidavit, may get a new trial, but the chances are slim.

The Supreme Court on Dec. 11 in a 5-4 decision sent the case back to Federal District Court in Chicago for a hearing to determine if a new trial is warranted. The ruling was made on an admission by the Solicitor General that the government had destroyed some evidence demanded by the defense under the Jencks rule, and had withheld some other items that might have been pertinent to its case. The defense had argued that destruction of evidence that may have been helpful to it had deprived Killian of his rights and denied him due process of law.

NORMAL PRACTICE: The Solicitor General told the court that the FBI, before the trial, had destroyed notes of statements by informers, who appeared as witnesses against Killian, in good faith and in accord with normal practice. He said the items withheld had contained no information not included in other material given to the defense. If the District Court finds these contentions true, a new trial will be denied.

The majority opinion was delivered by Justice Charles E. Whittaker. Dissents were entered by Justices Hugo Black, William O. Douglas with Chief Justice Earl Warren and Black concurring, and William Brennan.

The defense had also argued that the trial judge's instructions to the jury defining membership in and affiliation with the Communist Party were so deficient under the law as to justify reversal of the conviction. The majority opinion rejected this contention.

BLACK'S DISSENT: It was on this point that Black was most forceful in his dissent. He said: "I wish to reiterate my own belief that our Constitution, properly interpreted and applied, would prohibit this prosecution completely—regardless of the nature of petitioner's connection with the Communist Party. I think the Constitution absolutely prohibits the government from sending people to jail for 'crimes' that arise out of, and indeed are manufactured out of, the imposition of test oaths that invade the democratically indispensable freedoms of belief and political association."

Citing the test oath as a historic weapon against religious and political minorities, he said: "I think that history shows such test oaths to be one of the most generally and continuously hated and dangerous forms of governmental intrusion upon individual freedom that liberty-loving people have had to contend with . . . Whether religious, political, or both, test oaths are implacable foes of free thought. By approving their imposition, this court has injected compromise into a field where the First Amendment forbids compromise."

JOHN J. KILLIAN
A new round in the courts

THE DOUDS DECISION: The Taft-Hartley non-communist oath provision (since repealed by the enactment in 1959 of the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin law) was upheld as constitutional in the Supreme Court's Douds decision in 1950, but at that time, as Douglas noted in his dissent, the oath requirement was tailored "to exclude membership that did not include belief in the overthrow of the government by force or other illegal or unconstitutional means."

At the Killian trial the defense offered a definition of "membership" based on the Douds interpretation, but the judge rejected it in favor of a broader definition under which persons agreeing with Communist Party positions on a variety of social questions could be considered as "members."

The defense also contended at the trial that "affiliation" with the CP could mean only membership in another organization affiliated with the party. But the judge instructed the jury that "affiliation means a relationship short of and less than membership in the Communist Party, but more than that of mere sympathy for the aims and objectives of the Communist Party . . . Affiliation . . . means a relationship which is equivalent or equal to that of membership in all but name."

"A LONG WAY DOWN": In his dissent, Douglas wrote that a person who became a CP member only to promote a lawful cause of the party "should not be subjected to the legal odium that attaches to full-fledged members." He added:

"The fact that one believes in peace, disarmament, a ban on nuclear testing, or the disbandment of NATO may put him out of step with the majority. But unless we toss to the winds the tolerance which a free society shows for the unorthodox, as well as orthodox, views, the fact that a person embraces lawful views of the party should not establish that he is a 'member' of the party within the meaning of the act. Membership, as that word is used in the act, should be proved by facts which tie the accused to the illegal aims of the party. If beliefs are used to condemn the individual, we have ourselves gone a long way down the totalitarian path.'"

The Killian decision, in effect, overturns the limited protection offered by the Douds ruling.

Douglas wrote: "All the beliefs I find espoused by Killian in this record were protected by the First Amendment. He had a right to advocate them alone or in conjunction with others . . . In varied situations this court has refused to bring down on people heavy penalties for being a 'communist' or for being 'affiliated' with that party where the acts to prove it were intrinsically innocent."

THE AFFIDAVIT: The majority opinion held that "Killian was not charged with criminality for being a member of or affiliated with the Communist Party . . . The charge was that [he] knowingly made and caused to be transmitted to the Labor Board a false affidavit, saying he was not then a member of or affiliated with the Communist Party."

Brennan in his dissent said he would reverse the membership conviction because of the judge's instructions. He found the instructions regarding affiliation equally defective, but saw no ground for reversal there because, he said, the defense had not objected to it on the grounds of the Douds opinion. He concurred in the majority opinion on the question of the destroyed and withheld evidence.

FUNDS NEEDED: Killian filed his affidavit in 1952 as a trustees of a United Electrical Workers local at the Allen-Bradley plant in Milwaukee. He was first tried and convicted in November, 1956, on the testimony of two FBI informers. His first conviction was reversed as a result of the Jencks decision in 1957, but he was convicted again at a second trial with the same witnesses and testimony.

He has been defended by M. Michael Essin of Milwaukee, David B. Rothstein of Chicago, and Basil R. Pollitt of Brooklyn, N.Y.

The long years of litigation have long since exhausted the resources of the Killian family, and funds are desperately needed for the new round of court actions. Contributions may be sent to Emil Muelver, treasurer, Killian Defense Committee, 939 S. Second St., Milwaukee 4, Wis.

The defense has announced that it will petition for a rehearing by the Supreme Court.

Dramatic action for Sobell

When Methodist Minister David Andrews of Boone, N.C., knelt by the fence in front of the White House in Washington on Dec. 12 as a "direct act of civil disobedience" to call attention to pleas for the release of Morton Sobell, police ordered him to move, then arrested him. Next day he was freed in court. About 90 persons picketed the White House Dec. 16 and 17 on behalf of Sobell, in jail on charges of conspiring to commit espionage.

ACADEMIC REVIVAL

2,000 in faculties protest shelters as spur to war

PRESIDENT KENNEDY's civil defense program seems to have convinced the academic community that the ivory tower is no shelter in a nuclear age. Within a month, more than 2,000 teachers and scientists in a score of colleges put themselves on record against fallout shelters and for renewed efforts toward disarmament.

The first stirring occurred in Boston, where 183 faculty members from five universities signed an "open letter" to President Kennedy. The letter asserted that the shelter program increases the possibility of war because it prepares the population to accept "thermonuclear war as an instrument of national policy." The professors appealed to Kennedy to explain to the nation "just how catastrophic war today would be" and "then to lead the nation forward, on a race towards peace." The letter was printed as an advertisement in the New York **Times** on Nov. 10.

COLUMBIA ACTION: As a result, seven faculty members at Columbia U. in New York formed a committee to solicit signatures to the same letter in the metropolitan area. Their efforts enlisted 730 educators from more than 20 colleges and universities.

They reprinted the Boston letter, substituting their own signatures, as a full-page advertisement in the Dec. 19 New York **Times.** Signers included three Nobel Prize winners and internationally known educator Jacques Barzun, provost of Columbia.

Two hundred professors from Western Reserve, Case Tech and Fenn College in Ohio also signed the Boston letter and sent it to the President. Among the signers were 14 department chairmen and several deans.

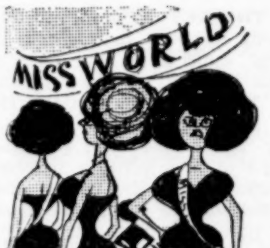
In California's Bay Area, 538 faculty members from eight institutions petitioned President Kennedy to jettison his civil defense program in favor of "a positive program for peace with freedom." The petition deplored the construction of fallout shelters and it said that "the prodigious energy of our people is being channeled into wrong directions for wrong reasons."

'WRONG STEP': Seventy-six faculty members at Syracuse U. in New York drafted their own statement against shelters and placed it as an advertisement in the Syracuse **Herald-Journal.** They called the shelter program "a step in the wrong direction" and warned that it would lead to "the frequent employment of brinkmanship and the increased hazard of war by miscalculation."

Following Dr. Willard F. Libby's syndicated series endorsing shelters, 18 scientists from the Pittsburgh Study Group for Nuclear Information challenged him to prove his assertion that "90% to 95% of Americans can be saved from nuclear attack." In a telegram to the former Atomic Energy Commission member they called his articles "dangerously misleading" and urged him to report "the extent of the catastrophe possible" from the blasts and firestorms of a nuclear war.

In a public statement the scientists pointed out that Libby had failed to note the dangers of firestorms, which they said would be greater than the fallout peril. The statement concluded: "The notion of a very limited lethal zone which emerges from Libby's articles could prevent people from making intelligent decisions about their own survival."

In Westchester, a New York suburb, 332 residents, including 165 physicians and scientists, placed full-page advertisements in nine local papers, headlined, "Could Westchester County Survive A Nuclear Attacks?" Using data reported by scientists at Congressional hearings, and in other academic studies, the advertisements calculated that most of the county residents would not survive following an attack on New York City, even if the population was in shelters.

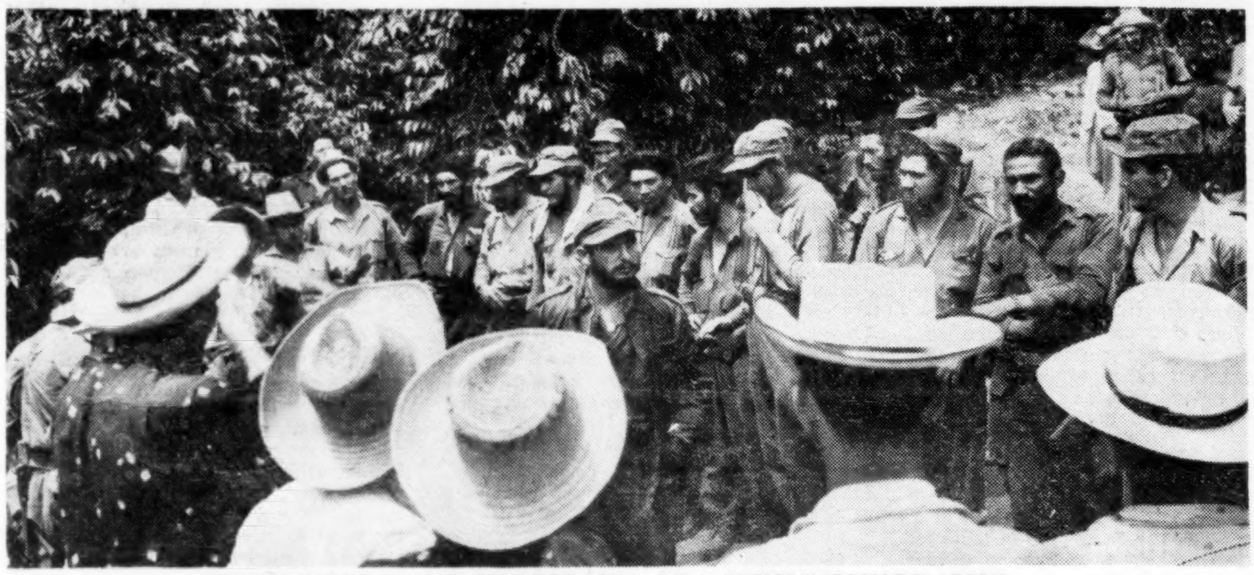


Belsky in the London Daily Herald

"Even the Miss World contest doesn't seem to take my mind off the bomb tests like it used to."

HISTORIC 5-HOUR SPEECH TELLS OF VICTORY, OUTLINES ROLE OF NEW UNITED PARTY

Castro, as a Marxist, dissects a revolution



CUBAN SCENE IN 1957: THE FORGING OF A REVOLUTIONARY ARMY
Castro (center, facing camera) swore in a group of recruits at a secret coastal base

In a historic radio-TV talk to the people Dec. 1, Premier Fidel Castro flung down a Marxist-Leninist challenge to United States imperialism. His five-hour speech, drastically abridged in the translation by the GUARDIAN's Cedric Belfrage that follows, outlined the proposed development and role of the new United Party of the Socialist Revolution (PURS), into which Cuba's three revolutionary groups—26th July Movement, Revolutionary Directorate and PSP (Communist Party)—are being merged.

HAVANA

WINNING POWER is easier than holding it. Not only military but administrative and political qualities had to be formed from experience in the struggle. In Cuba the struggle was of short duration compared with China, and the victorious revolutionaries made up various groups not "vertebrated" into a single disciplined movement. There were bourgeois groups which simply wanted the fleecing of the people to be done not by Batista, but by them; they had no wish to fight, but many good people cooperated with them in desperation because they brought in arms. Others had all sorts of romantic ideas about untrained civilians storming the barracks of Batista's trained troops and taking power in 24 hours.

Our idea was to attack one barracks and, with the arms, try to take one area or move into the hills to begin the struggle. Our mistake was in the number of men we believed we must arm in order to begin it—not several hundred but, as it turned out, 10 or 12. Had we realized this we would not have tried to take the Moncada barracks, but a smaller one closer to the mountains; we could have saved ourselves all the effort of raising money to arm 82 men (the crew of the launch **Granma**, brought by Castro from Mexico).

GUERRILLA FIGHT: But our line of fighting the political intrigue of the time and raising the revolutionary spirit of the people was correct. We never thought to conquer power with 10, 12 or 100 men, but by guerrilla action to create the conditions for taking power with the support of the masses, which is what in fact occurred. Our ideas were based on the objective, existing conditions of exploitation of the people in Cuba. It would never have occurred to us—although now it does to the counterrevolutionaries—to begin a struggle in a country in which the **campesinos** are masters of their land.

We began in the Sierra Maestra without knowing a single **campesino** there, and with no knowledge of the area beyond what we had studied in geography books; but the objective conditions at the given historical moment were favorable. The first lesson is that a revolution cannot be made out of the minds of men. Neither Marti nor Lenin could have played the roles they did if they had been born a century earlier. Men can interpret a law of history at a given moment, and set the revolutionary movement in motion with a correct interpretation, and that was our role.

There is no question that if, as we gathered strength, we had been known as people of very radical ideas, the social class that is now making war on us would have been doing so from that moment. The conditions for us were very precarious, the people being terrified of Batista's army and hardly able to conceive that such a small, hungry, ill-clad and ill-armed group could defeat it. But we began organizing the guerrilla movement and acquiring experience, and at the same time winning the peasant masses for the revolution. It was quite logical that in the objective conditions existing, the revolutionary work developed until we could count on the almost unanimous support of the Sierra Maestra **campesinos.**

A PREDICTION: We have a tremendous faith in the guerrilla struggle in the conditions of our country, which were similar to the conditions of many countries of Latin America. And we know that when this conviction comes to other peoples equally oppressed by imperialism, military castes and great landlords—without land, schools, doctors, credit—the army of NATO itself will not be able to stand against the revolutionary movement. We know that all the military science of the Pentagon is going to break in pieces against the reality—the conditions in which the Latin American peoples live. Gen. Taylor is wasting his time with his anti-guerrilla school in Panama, because there is only one way to combat revolutionary guerrillas: the disappearance of imperialism, its monopolies and exploitation. We are sure that a handful of men throwing themselves into the struggle in countries with the same objective conditions as existed in Cuba—I refer to no country in particular—will, if they carry out the correct guerrilla functions, be the spark that ignites the flame.

Little by little the struggle extended to the whole people, and the final blow necessary was the general strike. Undoubtedly we called for it prematurely, because subjective criteria predominated and we didn't know the objective conditions. A revolutionary should interpret reality, but we converted our desires into reality. With the military force of the revolution still less than 200 men, the conditions were not ripe. But when we sent out the call the second time, we had isolated entire provinces and destroyed whole enemy units; and the strategy of armed conquest of revolutionary power—which is what differentiates a real revolutionary movement from a **coup d'etat**—was accomplished.

ARMS THE KEY: When a revolutionary movement is about to triumph, all the forces of imperialism are exercised to maintain the military machine. In Cuba Jan. 1, 1959, and today in the Dominican Republic, the key to everything is whether the people take possession of the arms or the military machine remains intact with the people unarmed. If the Venezuelan people had been able to take possession of the arms after the fall of the Perez Jimenez regime, it would have been "goodby imperialism." This is all written with great clarity in Lenin's **State and Revolution.** Thus the Cuban revolutionary process fulfilled a series of fundamental laws of all revolutionary processes. First, conquest of power by the masses; second, destruction of the military apparatus of the economically dominant class.

After our victory a procession of bourgeois types expecting to accommodate themselves—newspaper publishers, bankers, businessmen, the cardinal's nephews—trooped in to see me; and there was a three-day press buildup for the first visit by U.S. Ambassador Bonsal, as if the great chief of the country was about to make an appearance. He at once began talking about the electricity and phone companies, the problems of the banks and North American-owned estates, in the style of someone coming to give instructions. Of course, he had no idea what sort of person he was talking to.

All the financial and economic resources, the press and radio were in the hands of the old ruling class. But our program was revolutionary and I was confident that no one could prevent its realization, although to have pressed revolutionary reforms under the conditions of the fight against Batista would have been to weaken the forces opposing the tyranny. We had been able to bring together in that fight a great number of political and social forces, and of course this led to some rather embarrassing situations. For example, the Prio Socarras-Miro Cardona group always opposed total unity and wanted to exclude the PSP. We thought it better not to discuss this problem and to finish the war.

NEVER WORRIED: It might have been better for the revolution not to make the compromise of naming Urrutia as Presidential candidate, but in a revolution which had destroyed the military apparatus, won power with the people and had its own revolutionary army, it didn't matter much who was named. In any case, we were never in the least worried that reactionary elements could take over the government, because the armed force was in revolutionary hands. In my opinion what happened in those first months was correct, given the then-existing correlation of social, political and ideological forces.

There had been a more or less one-man leadership of the revolution. Why? Because we did not have a single, vertebrated revolutionary organization. There were some differences between the leadership in the mountains and in the plains. I recall that there was a watchword against one-man leadership—that this was one of the things we had to fight against because our country had suffered enough from it. Since the time of the War of Independence there have arisen a series of **caudillos,** and it has been the same among other Latin American peoples. Fortunately, I was not born with a vocation to be a **caudillo,** never felt any special pleasure from giving orders, and even during the war never gave them in military style. It seemed much better to me that anyone receiving an order should be convinced that it was right. But those who talked about one-man leadership were not really worried by that, but by the growing revolutionary force.

The point is that there was a group forming part of the government which to a great extent decided who would be chosen as ministers, and they put in a conservative team. Our policy was to wait and see what happened. The first weeks passed and not a single revolutionary law had been passed. The interests of these gentlemen were diametrically opposed to those of the **campesinos** in the Sierra Maestra, of the agricultural workers who spent three months working and the rest going hungry, of the working class and the great majority of the country. But that stage was necessary, to unmask these gentlemen. Many of those people who were in the government I didn't even know.

THE ELEMENTS: But what organization represented the working class, the most advanced elements of the industrial and agricultural workers? The PSP. The party also had some militants among small peasants whom we met in the Sierra Maestra. The 26th of July Movement represented above all the peasant movement which was formed around the Rebel Army; also many non-party members of the working class, professional, intellectual and youth elements, and the most progressive elements of the middle class and petty bourgeoisie. The Directorio Revolucionario represented more or less the same elements, but especially the students.

Thus the revolutionary forces of society were represented in three organizations. And they had to deal with a large part of the government, all the press and information media, and — above all — the force of habit of which Lenin spoke: ideas, prejudices and ways of thinking which had been spread and sustained by imperialism and capitalism. Furthermore, many **compañeros** who had been magnificent in the fight had never had a chance to receive political instruction, and at that time could fall victim to any lie or confusion. Many **compañeros** in the Rebel Army could not even read and write.

Through the revolutionary process the conditions were ripening which would make vertebration of the revolutionary forces possible. What does the unification of all these forces mean? That the working class, the peasant class, the student class, the revolutionary strata of the petty bourgeoisie and intellectuals now join in a single organization with a single revolutionary leadership — an extraordinary strengthening of the revolution.

SOMETHING MOVES: I must say one thing: With the revolution itself we become more revolutionary every day. There was a time when I could consider myself a complete illiterate politically, because of my class origin. I am very conscious of the fact that I do not come from the working class, and of all the influence that our class origin must have had on

THE 1959 ARRIVAL IN HAVANA
The people hailed their hero

'. . . ONE WAY TO COMBAT REVOLUTIONARY GUERRILLAS: THE DISAPPEARANCE OF IMPERIALISM'
An exuberant May Day parade in Havana this year was an expression of the new, free Cuba

the mentality of many of us. Should I be ashamed to confess it? On the contrary, I feel proud that when I left school I knew nothing about politics and now I know something—it shows something has moved.

What is the most revolutionary class? The working class, beyond a shadow of doubt, because its social conditions makes it so. In some countries people with middle-class backgrounds in the working-class movement have inculcated the movement with petty bourgeois thinking, and we must fight to prevent that happening. We must fight hard for revolutionary education, so as not to inculcate the ideas of a vacillating class which doesn't understand discipline and is the prey of despair. But does that mean that a good revolutionary cannot emerge from these strata? No, some of the great theoreticians of revolutionary thought came from them.

I began to get some revolutionary ideas while studying bourgeois political economy, and at the university we had the first contact with the Communist Manifesto, with Marx. Engels and Lenin. I must honestly say that many of the things we did in the revolution were not invented by ourselves. When I left the university, I won't say I was a Marxist-Leninist, but I was very much influenced. Today I still can't honestly say I am a formed revolutionary, but a convinced revolutionary—that I am, yes.

People have asked if at the time of the Moncada assault (July 26, 1953) I thought as I think today, and I have told them: "Very much the same." Anyone who reads what I said then (at the Moncada trial) will see that many of the fundamentals of the revolution are expressed in that document, which was written with care. If I had put forward a more radical program, the fight against Batista would not have attained the breadth which made victory possible. But one of the books the police took from us then was a Lenin text, and I replied to the question about it in court: "Yes, that is our book, and anyone who doesn't read these books is an ignoramus."

A MARXIST: I consider myself more revolutionary now than I was on Jan. 1, 1959, but all the ideas I have now I had then. I have not made a complete study of revolutionary political philosophy but I intend to continue studying. Recently I was reminded that as a student I got as far as page 370 of **Das Kapital.** When I have time I shall resume it. It is very interesting to return to the books one read as a student. Do I believe in Marxism? I absolutely believe in Marxism! Did I believe in it on Jan. 1? I did. On July 26, 1953? I did! Did I understand it as I do now after nearly 10 years of struggle? No, I didn't.

Do I have any doubts about Marxism and think that some interpretations are wrong and need revising? I have not the smallest doubt! The more we have to confront the reality of a revolution and the class struggle, the more convinced we become of the truths written by Marx and Engels. And the extraordinary merit of Lenin was to have completely interpreted the thinking of Marx, put it into practice and developed it in new circumstances . . .

Marx wrote a correct interpretation of what was going to happen, not because people wanted it but because the laws themselves of historical evolution determined it. He gave the working class a theory. But socialism is not to be built in the same way in all countries—each has its peculiarities and must adjust its program, methods and tactics to these, as we have to do. But there is a series of common experiences of extraordinary value, just as in medicine, astronomy or physics, which are truths proven by the reality of history. We have the advantage of being able to count on all this experience and technique in the building of a socialist society.

The victorious revolution in the Soviet Union had to confront almost unimaginable difficulties and pass through a long period of hunger and sacrifices. But after all this, only the blind could fail to see that on the scientific level the Soviet Union has left the capitalist countries completely behind. On the cultural level, three times as many engineers are studying there as in the U.S. It is the first country in the world in housing construction, has the lowest infantile mortality and longest life expectancy. So one thing is absolutely proved: The reality of history has confirmed the doctrine of Marxism and Leninism. Can the U.S. compete? Yes, they would simply have to renounce capitalism, set up a socialist regime and plan the country's economy. There is no great merit in understanding this.

NO MIDDLE GROUND: When the revolution came to power in Cuba, it had two roads: either to stop within the existing social regime or to go forward; to stop within the capitalist system and the orbit of imperialism—within the political structure associated with Franco, Adenauer, Chiang Kai-shek, all the military dictatorships and French colonialism in Algeria, or to stand beside the exploited, oppressed and colonized peoples. One must bear in mind that there is no middle ground between capitalism and socialism. He who remains indifferent before the struggle of the Algerians is an accomplice of the French imperialism. He who remains indifferent before a Yanqui intervention in Santo Domingo is an accomplice of it. The same for him who remains indifferent before Franco and the rearmament of German militarists, before what is going on in South Vietnam, the Congo and Angola.

There are some who think the Cuban revolution ought to have got money from both the Americans and the Russians, as they put it—a sort of blackmail policy. But this base and cowardly policy would leave the great imperialist interests here untouched. Such small glory would not be worth the death of a single Cuban. We have chosen the only honorable path which accords with the tradition of all who have fought for the good of our land. Any other position would have been false and absurd, and we will never adopt it, never!

That is the great dialectic truth before humanity: imperialism, and confronting imperialism, socialism. Out of this comes the triumph of socialism and, after the socialist era, the era of communism. But no one should be scared; there won't be communism for at least another 30 years. It is not possible to jump over the socialist stage of history, although perhaps some backward countries today could jump over the building of capitalism and go straight into planning their economies. And what is the socialism we have to apply? Utopian socialism? No, we must apply scientific socialism — Marxism, the only true revolutionary theory. I say here with complete satisfaction and confidence —I am a Marxist-Leninist and will be to the last day of my life.

THE COMMUNISTS: Did I have prejudices against the Communists? Yes. Was I sometimes influenced against them by the propaganda of imperialism and reaction? Yes. What did I think of them—that they were thieves? No, never—in the university and everywhere I took them to be honorable and honest. Did I think they were sectarian? Yes. But I am absolutely convinced that the ideas I had—not about Marxism but about the Communist Party —were the product of propaganda and prejudice inculcated since childhood. Do I think they may make mistakes? Yes, I think they may. Marx, Engels and Lenin could make mistakes and were the first to admit it—they did not think themselves infallible. We must recognize that it called for great merit to be a Communist in the days when they were attacked, persecuted, excluded as a kind of pest, and had to make infinite sacrifices and efforts. Much greater merit than to be one today, when conditions are different. Today we have to make sure that Marxists really are Marxists in the full meaning of the word. I had prejudices against their party originating mainly during the campaigns—I confess it with frankness—but today we are all comrades, we are all socialists.

One of the most difficult things for us was to "make a socialist revolution without socialists," in the sense that at one stage such was anti-communist prejudice that the designation of a Communist for the most modest post brought a wave of protest.

An important contribution of the PSP has been the cadres of old militants, educated in socialism by that party. The Directorio's contribution has been the youth cadres. The 26th of July Movement could not contribute politically well educated cadres, but contributed many young enthusiastic people, revolutionary by the experience acquired in the fight to win power. All contributed in one way or another.

THE DICTATORSHIP: So we are in a socialist regime, and how different it is from all that had been said about socialism! Socialism turns out to be that which does away with illiteracy, educates a million Cubans, makes plans for rehabilitation of prostitutes, teaches shorthand-typing to domestic servants, wipes out unemployment, builds hospitals and roads, organizes workers' clubs and creches, develops culture and fights for the happiness of the people. With all its power it fights to overcome defects, extremism and sectarianism, abuses and injustices—simply because that was what Marx and Engels conceived, and Lenin and other revolutionaries fought for.

In Marxist terms it is "the dictatorship of the proletariat," but that does not mean torture, assassination and crime—that was the dictatorship of the bourgeosie. The proletariat takes power to develop a historical cycle, exercising its power against the other classes which it must fight during the whole process of building socialism. Torture, crime and arbitrariness are the manifestation of the classes removed from power, striving to recover it; they have nothing to do with socialism, which fights them and will not tolerate them. But the enemies of socialism and national independence will not find any bed of roses in this struggle; we are not inhuman, but we are very aware that the enemies of the revolution deserve to be treated with severity.

Of course non-Marxists, utopians, put the blame on the PSP for the socialist revolution, but this is simply the result of their lack of political education. On the contrary, all of us have contributed to this unity and we are all fighting to build a strong, disciplined organization that will

(Continued on Page 8)

The free press translates—a bit freely

ON DEC. 3 most U.S. papers and radio and TV news broadcasts reported that Premier Castro said he had been a Communist since his university days—a clear distortion of what he said. A spate of I-told-you-so editorials followed.

New York **Post** editor James A. Wechsler investigated, and reported: UPI sent a story, datelined Miami, that "Castro said today he really has been a dedicated Communist since his college days, but he concealed his views so it would be easier to seize power."

AP sent a dispatch, datelined Havana, which quoted Castro saying "he was not a Marxist" as a student, but after he came to power "developed into a Marxist-Leninist.'

UPI's Havana bureau was closed when Castro spoke and the story originated from its Miami office where a Cuban exile monitored the speech. His dispatch to New York reported Castro had declared himself a Marxist-Leninist "and disclosed that his political creed had been developed over many years, starting with his college days. "UPI's New York desk rewrote this to make Castro a "dedicated Communist" since college days.

The service later sent out a revised story changing "Communist" to "Marxist," but most papers ignored the change.

Katanga--and Western profits

(Continued from Page 1)

The actual wrecking crew was identified by an unimpeachable source a few days after O'Brien's pronouncement. Lt. Gen. Sean McKeon who, announcing his own resignation as commander-in-chief of the UN's Congo forces as of the end of this month, declared that Katanga president Moise Tshombe did not control Katanga troops and had even made indirect peace overtures. The battle against the UN, the UN military chief said, was "controlled by mercenaries headed by a political group of white extremists acting in the interest of financial concerns in Katanga." (The UN had just disclosed the capture in last September's fighting of a "top secret" battle plan drawn up by 12 French staff officers, veterans of colonial campaigns in Indochina and Algeria.)

Bankrolling the Katanga secession, and thus also the military campaign, was Union Miniere du Haut-Katanga to the tune of $52 million in 1961. This was admitted in a press conference held by a company spokesman in Brussels and reported in the New York **Times** of Dec. 12. A startling feature of the revelations was the implication that a substantial portion of the sum paid to Tshombe's rump regime comprised dividend payments the Belgian government owed to the Congolese central government under the terms of the independence agreement of June, 1960.

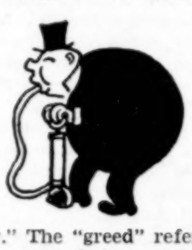
'IT IS SPENT': The mining company spokesman, Arthur Pared, told his interviewers the company had been "forced" by the Katanga regime to pay into its bank the dividends on the Union Miniere shares formerly owned by the Belgian colonial administration. He admitted that these dividends were those intended to be "held in trust for the Congolese people," and then added: "We do not know what is done with that money [in excess of $10 million], but we suppose it is spent."

The enormity of the British economic stake in Katanga has also gone unreported in the press, though it is this stake, in conflict, as in the Irish case, with the political need to recognize Congo independence, that has produced the conflict in British and American Congo policies. The fact is that, with independence and the consequent ending of Belgian colonial control of Union Miniere, British interests became the dominant stockholder in the half-billion-dollar mining empire—an empire that accounts for most of the world's uranium and about three-fourths of its cobalt, copper, zinc, radium, cadmium and lead, as well as a substantial part of its silver and other essential minerals.

The major holdings of Union Miniere's more than a million shares of stock were divided among the Belgian colonial government (18%), now passed on to the Congo government (and in Katanga hands); Tanganyika Concessions, Ltd. (14%); and the Belgian financial firms, Compagnie du Katanga (9%) and Societe Generale de Belgique (5%). Tanganyika Concessions is a giant holding company (it also owns the principal railroad and mining properties in newly independent Tanganyika) headquartered in Southern Rhodesia, in which the two Belgian firms and Rockefeller, South African, French and Rhodesian interests are heavily represented.

But the company is a British organization, British-controlled. Its chief stockholders and officers are powerful British government figures. Tanganyika's chairman is Capt. Charles Waterhouse, an MP and Privy Councilor who has occupied many cabinet and other top posts. Directors Sir Ulrick Alexander and Lord Selbourne have also held high government positions. These three sit on the 15-man Council of Administration which runs Union Miniere. Other Tanganyika directors are Sir Ronald Mark Cunliffe Turner, former British Minister of Economic Warfare; Sir R. J. Hudson, long a top official in Rhodesia; and H. F. Oppenheimer, who heads De Beers Consolidated Mines and the Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa, which have close to a world monopoly in diamonds and gold.

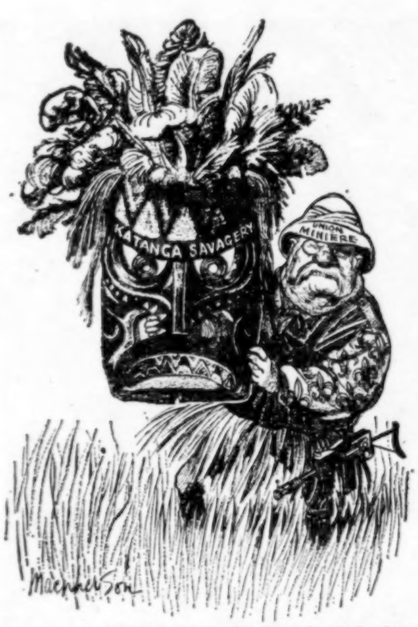
HUGE PROFITS: Last week the Toronto **Star** headlined an article on the Katanga tragedy "White Man's Greed, Black Man's Agony." The "greed" refers to the lavish profits earned from colonial exploitation of raw materials. Wrote columnist Drew Pearson, Dec. 9, of Union Miniere: "Its dividends are fantastic—31%, plus a 100% stock dividend in 1958, and even higher in other years."



Opposed to these powerful British economic interests are British Commonwealth relationships and its coalition with the U.S. The American attitude toward the Katanga crisis is determined primarily by political considerations. While the Rockefeller interests are said to own more than half-a-million shares of Tanganyika Concessions and though Rockefeller men—including Secretary of State Dean Rusk—hold many key posts in the Kennedy Administration, this influence is outweighed by U.S. absorption in cold-war diplomacy. For purposes of the cold war, the imperative is not retention of Western ownership of Union Miniere—which Washington sees little long-range hope of anyway—but a way of insuring that its strategic supplies of uranium, cobalt and other minerals essential to bomb and missile manufacture remain in the Western camp and do not start flowing, even in part, eastward.

Hence, though the U.S. originally participated in the behind-the-scenes British-Belgian efforts to partition the Congo, its virtually exclusive concern for many months has been the steady resurgence in the Congo of Lumumbism under leadership of Antoine Gizenga. As pressure has mounted overwhelmingly within the Congo and among the Asian-African states for the destruction of the remnants of colonialism in Katanga, the U.S. has slowly swung round to full support of a UN campaign, employing both force and negotiations, to clean out the Union Miniere mercenaries and pry the province back into the Congo. This it sees as a necessary means of stopping the spread of Gizengaism, and it has added to the policy a call for UN action as well against the Gizenga forces.

ULTRAS STRONG: Because of this U.S. position, the pressure of anti-colonial demands within the Commonwealth, and other political factors, Britain refrained from vetoing the Security Council resolutions calling for force in Katanga, and instead urged "a united and peaceful Congo." The Union Miniere "ultras," however, based politically in Parliament and operationally both in Katanga and in neighboring, friendly, Rhodesia, are powerful enough to stand up to the British government, and were able to force a U.S.-British disagreement over the cease-fire question.



Macpherson in the Toronto Daily Star
Behind the mask

UN commanders are convinced that without the military skill of the 200 or more mercenaries, the Tshombe resistance would collapse and negotiations between the province and the Congo could begin. On the need for such negotiations, all governments have become committed, on paper at least. The degree to which the ultras can influence such negotiations will determine how long the Congo crisis will go on—and whether it will even get worse.

THE STRATEGY: Shaping up as a result of UN's Acting Secretary General U Thant's uncompromising tactics in the Katanga fighting was a "pull-back" strategy by the ultras to get the Adoula government to agree to a federation, rather than a unitary Congo. This would leave Katanga with a significant degree of autonomy and Union Miniere thus free to keep shipping both its products and its profits to the Western owners. Such a settlement, which the U.S. was backing, would probably be violently opposed by the Gizenga forces, and the Western powers could then be expected to exert powerful pressure for the forcible suppression of Gizenga. The U.S. has already set the stage for this by applying the label "secessionist" to Gizenga.

Such a move would bring the cold war in earnest to the Congo and have possibly explosive effects both inside the country and in Africa generally. At best the Congolese appeared to have in prospect a Laos-type struggle for true self-determination as Western policies began to coalesce. What part the UN under U Thant might play in that new struggle would be the big question.

Castro on socialism

(Continued from Page 7)

be the political vanguard of the working class and the Cuban revolution. How are we trying to do it? In the manner of traditional parties, calling everyone and opening the doors wide so anyone can enter? No—a Marxist revolutionary party is a party of leadership and selection, leading and working through the mass organizations. The Cuban revolution should have not a quantitative but a qualitative organization.

ONLY THE BEST: In the first stage the standards for membership will not be rigorously applied, but in the future more and more will be required of those seeking membership in the PURS. It is better to select before admission than to expel afterwards. It is fundamental that the party should be the best of the people, that the best members of the mass organizations should achieve the honor of membership. Members of all revolutionary organizations will enter the PURS with equal rights and consideration. There will be no privilege from having been a PSP member for 20 years, or having fought in the Sierra. Whatever merit anyone may possess from the past, there is a greater merit in what you will be in the future. And who knows what battles we still have ahead of us?

For the first time in our country there is a revolutionary power which will judge people only on merit, and every honorable Cuban belongs in the PURS. It will be a school for revolutionary instruction, and if we leaders don't study, we'll soon have rank-and-filers who know more than we do of political economy and Marxism-Leninism. We are not talking of indoctrination, of stuffing heads, but of teaching people to analyze and to think; to search the records of history and the universal working class movement, where there are so many lessons. We don't want anyone to believe what he doesn't understand, because that way are produced fanatics and dogmatists.

For a considerable time the revolution had one-man leadership, decisions being taken in virtue of confidence placed in the Premier. I am firmly of the opinion that this is a mistake. There was much concern about the leadership problem—"What happens if they kill a leader?" There is nothing more fragile than the life of an individual—and the conscience of the individual is fragile, too. We had to get out of that situation as soon as possible to create a leadership of a revolutionary party. This instrument is the best and only valid guarantee of the continuity of power and the revolutionary line.

ONE-MAN EVILS: In bourgeois representative democracy — apart from the characteristics of politicking, bribery and corruption, and that only the ruling and rich classes have access to power—often a great demagogue can deceive the masses and rise to positions far removed from his capacity and merit. One-man leadership is in absolute contradiction to revolutionary and human sentiments. A king's son may be an idiot, and then a country is condemned to rule by an idiot. Of the many political systems devised by man, I think the ideal—which does not aspire to be eternal, merely transitory, like all the stages through which history calls a country to go—is the system of government based on a revolutionary party, democratically organized with collective leadership. It is the best system if the rules of democracy and collective leadership operate; if they don't, it can be very bad like any other system. The idiot or the lucky adventurer will not be able to rise to the top of the State when these standards are dominant in the party—discipline, selectivity, internal democracy and collective leadership.

Thus, which citizen can become a leader of his country? Only those who show merit and quality, who have a real revolutionary and political vocation and spirit of sacrifice. It is not the old politics in which people can gain high positions because they have money and the right friends. Let us banish favoritism and everything of that kind, and assuredly we will have the system that guarantees to the people that they will be governed by those fittest to govern.

NO CAESARS: I have assumed great responsibilities in the revolution but have never considered myself infallible. The most honest thing any revolutionary should do is to recognize, not just verbally but sincerely, that he can be wrong—to declare that there are no Caesars, no providential beings, and his firm belief that history is written and made by the peoples. The revolution is not made by the intelligence or the effort of one man, but by the intelligence, sacrifice and blood of the many. Who can consider his personal vanity and pride worth more than the effort and sacrifice of millions of citizens?

If all of us who have responsible positions in the leadership adhere to these rules and principles, our country will have a great future. It will spare itself the problems of provisionalism, the famous problems of the cult of personality and a thousand problems more.

When Camilo Cienfuegos died I said of him: "There are many Camilos among the people." But that is not only true of military leaders but of all other positions of responsibility. Among the people there are hundreds of thousands of valuable and competent persons: give them the opportunity to instruct and prepare themselves, to learn, to lead, to work! Give it to them and see how from the people rise not only magnificent athletes, military men and students but magnificent administrators, orators, writers and ministers. Let us, in accordance with our times and with our revolution, accustom ourselves to seeing the great virtues, intellects and merits in the people; to appreciating that in the people lie great reserves, and therefore the people cannot fail! A man can fail because a man is one. A people cannot fail because it is a thousand and a hundred thousand intellects and potential leaders.

BOOKS

A sardine's-eye view

JUAN JOSE AREVALO, former president of Guatemala, has written a book on Latin America —**The Shark and the Sardines***—that is unashamedly more biased than a ledger. Its imagery, parables, wit and epithets are reportedly firing the imaginations of Latin-Americans by the thousands.

It is not that scholar-statesman Arevalo ignores the facts of colonialism, but he does not treat them as ends in themselves. He plays upon them, highlights them with irony and clothes them with imagery that gives them meaning. In short, he brings art to politics.

The "fable" with which Arevalo begins his book is a delightful sub-oceanic parable of how law and "morality" came with priestly robes and high solemnity to sanctify the holy relationship that exists between a shark and a sardine. The "juridic fiction" is enunciated that sharks and sardines are equal. The "dialectics" of International Law are summed up in terms that explain the Monroe Doctrine, the hijacking of Panama, the skulduggery of the Canal. Arevalo puts it this way: "The Thesis, danger; the Anti-thesis, the pledge; the Synthesis, the grab."

IN DISCUSSING the treaties between United States and Costa Rica or Nicaragua, for example, or the 99-year leases that weld the Pan-American system, Arevalo writes: "The reference to 'The High Contracting Parties,' repeated every seven lines, is a lie. There is only one contracting party — the one that swallows. There is no more than one high party—the one that buys, the one that amasses the wealth. A treaty cannot be made legally between a country with 20,000 war planes and a country that possesses three training planes, bought second-hand for student pilots."

With great elan Arevalo punctures the legalisms that surround us, detailing the grim reality of subversion, bribery, corruption, treason and sheer military power that bind the U.S. and Nicaragua, his prime example of how the Pan-American system works in a "world of law."

He does not believe that slaves win their freedom by filing suit or that the starving are nourished by a proper accounting system. Arevalo was a teacher before he became a statesman, but his scholarship has taken on flesh and blood. For example, he writes: "Learned economists and sociologists mislead the people with a labyrinth of numbers, statistical charts, graphs about human grandeur, the prosperity of the big monopolies, index of such and such per cent and surplus. Yes, surplus.

"Only the young in that bloom of hope that is their twenties give full vent to their indignation over the rental contracts, shout their disapproval out in the open on the streets, and throw stones against the windows of the offices of buy-and-sell. At least let us applaud them, so that it shall not be said that we are rotten to the core."

DESPITE THE VIGOR of this book and the value of its recapitulation of the history that lies at the root of Arevalo's anger, there are some regrettable lacks. Although the work appears with a foreword dated this year, the book contains no mention of the Cuban revolution. That is a pity, because it would be good to know what hope Arevalo sees in Fidelismo. He has been in Cuba and one may assume his sympathies.

But surely that new reality in Latin America must modify Arevalo's somewhat desperate view. It would be good to have his thoughts on that subject as well as something more explicit concerning the promised socialism in Latin America. He describes himself at one point as a "romantic Marxist" rather than a scientific one. But the reader must be pardoned for wanting a fuller picture of Arevalo's vision.

One other disappointment is that Arevalo does not let us have his special insights into the Guatemalan tragedy. He scarcely touches on it, as a matter of fact.

Arevalo covers a broad canvas brilliantly although one cannot help but wish for a sharper focus on some details. At least we are assured that when the ex-president does bring his wit and skill to bear upon these aspects, the result will be illuminating, not merely correct.

—**Stanley H. Carr**

**THE SHARK AND THE SARDINES, by Juan Josè Arevalo. Lyle Stuart, 225 Lafayette St., New York 12, N.Y.; 256 pp., $4.95.*

SYMBOLIC SCENE FOR LATIN-AMERICA
A Venezuelan and a well-shod heel

ALAN DUGAN'S RANGE IS WIDE

Tough, witty poems

THE FIRST thing that strikes me about Alan Dugan's **Poems*** is the wit in them, and the tough-mindedness. The second thing is the range. At the center of these poems is a human, not a literary, condition. And close to that center is a man with a wry view of himself and society.

Most important, the range is in the poems. Something as apparently simple as "This Morning Here," which has for its furniture the opening of stores and the beginning of the commercial day, has room for "Wallis Warfield Simpson and/ the rockets numbered like the popes," for "the Arab frenzy of the zero."

In the poem "On the East Wind From the Wars" (war is never far away in these poems) the wind which picked up the battlefield smells and the smells of the dead has been washed clean by time and distance. The dead are still in the wind, but the woman in the poem is only aware of the fresh smell of spring. She is "lucky" and her laugh "rings like a chisel as it cuts/ your children's new names in the tombstone of this air."

DUDLEY FITTS, in his introduction, speaks of the "anti-rhetoric" in the versification. It's there, but nevertheless the book is full of memorable single lines as well as individual poems.

There are very few writers who can, like Dugan, take moral or spiritual (or just plain) exasperation and transmute it into hallucinatory frenzies of a comic Christ. The example is "Love Song: I and Thou." Here Dugan seemed prepared to build, at least allergorically, a heaven in hell's despite, but was "no carpenter."

I/ built/ the roof for myself, the walls/ for myself, the floors/ for myself, and got/ hung up in it myself . . .

But everything went haywire and "God damned it." However, this does not stop Dugan:

This is hell,/ but I planned it, /I sawed it, I nailed it, and / will live in it until it kills me./ I can nail my left palm/ to the left-hand cross-piece but/ I can't do everything myself./ I need a hand to nail the right,/ a help, a love, a you, a wife.

Most of us have reared such stately mansions, got hung up in them—and it only hurts when we laugh, like the missionary stuck full of assegais. I will suppose that is a way of accepting moral responsibility. But I don't want to be serious about a poem as serious and as funny as this one.

I've seen this book damned as simply "clever." In fact, in spite of the wryness and occasional dryness, it is a really noble book.

—**Thomas McGrath**

**POEMS, by Alan Dugan. Yale Series of Younger Poets. Yale University Press. 386 Park Ave. So., New York, 60 pp., $1.25 paperbound.*

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AFL-CIO story

(Continued from Page 1)

with a delegation from the Negro American Labor Council to assure them that he would press for better relations between the AFL-CIO and the NALC. Previously, Meany had refused to recognize the Negro unionists' organization.

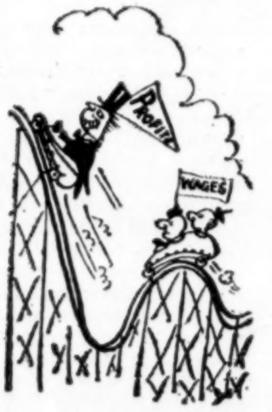
FIRM AGAINST HOFFA: Meany's thorniest problem was to withstand mounting pressure for readmission of the Teamster's union, expelled on corruption charges in 1957. Several large unions and a dozen state and city labor councils urged the union's readmission.

Many craft unions have maintained friendly relations with the Teamsters despite the expulsion. Some industrial unions are also close to James Hoffa's union and depend on it for support in strikes. Reuther no longer denounces Hoffa but he has not yet come out for readmission. On the other hand, Hoffa now calls Reuther a "labor leader," while in 1959 he credited him with "no brains and no guts."

Hoffa's return to the federation would upset its internal politics. Meany continues to rule because he seems to be the only one who can hold the warring factions together. The craft unions would probably walk out rather than accept Reuther as Meany's successor. But Hoffa is on good terms with both factions. If he returned, he could replace Meany or, at least, have a major voice in choosing his successor.

JFK'S BID: The Kennedy Administration also has a great stake in keeping the federation united. It depends heavily on compliant union leaders to exercise "voluntary restraint" on wages to allow U.S. goods to compete abroad and to unite the nation behind the cold war. The AFL-CIO has been first in line to heed President Kennedy's call for personal sacrifice in the struggle against world communism.

President Kennedy told the convention he had come to ask for labor's help "to make a contribution to the cause of freedom." Goldberg later spelled out what the Administration wanted as a contribution: wage increases to be limited to increased productivity and no lessening of the work week. In return Goldberg used his influence as Secretary of Labor and as a former AFL-CIO counsel to mediate some of the federation's differences and to keep the Teamsters out.



Dyad, in the London Daily Worker
"Step on it, Alfie."

Meany told Kennedy: "Don't worry about us. We'll cooperate 1,000 per cent." Meany started to cooperate before the convention. In a report, he said that overshadowing the "problem of persistent unemployment" was the "mounting belligerence of the Soviet Union." He appealed to the delegates to view labor's problems as they relate to "the struggle against international communism." The same report ignored the growing menace of the ultra-right at home.

SMOKE-FILLED ROOMS: Meany kept the disruptive issues off the convention floor, settling them in closed meetings with top leaders. This is how the issues were resolved:

- At a nine-hour session of the executive council Meany hammered out a compromise on the jurisdictional problem. It bars (1) unions from seeking work customarily performed by other unions; (2) raids on other unions; and (3) publicity attacks by one union on another in an organizing campaign.

When a union complains to Meany that the agreement has been violated, he will appoint a panel of union officials to investigate. If they cannot mediate a settlement in two weeks, an impartial umpire, chosen from a panel, will be named to make a determination. The umpire's decision may be appealed to the executive council.

- Randolph agreed to have stricken the words he used to describe the council's censure of him ("dishonorable, disgraceful, petty and cheap"). In return the censure was "deposited" with the council, where it would be buried. In addition, the federation's policy-making Civil Rights Committee was reorganized under AFL-CIO secretary-treasurer William F. Schnitzler as a prelude to major personnel changes in the Civil Rights Department, the administrative arm. The department has been a major target of Negro critics.

- The convention approved a resolution, deliberately ambiguous, instructing the executive council to review applications for readmission from expelled unions. The council can approve the application if the penitent union is found to be observing the "rules, laws, standards and policies" of the federation.

BULLING IT THROUGH: After the resolution was read, Meany hastily called for a vote and proclaimed it passed unanimously, even though Transport Workers president Michael Quill was at a microphone seeking the floor. Maritime President Joseph Curran commented: "I belong to an organization that has some pretty fast shifts, but that's what you call bulling it through."

Quill got the floor eventually and argued for the Teamsters' readmission. "We have amongst us an army of hypocrites," he said. "They are the people who say publicly the Teamsters should not be allowed back, and under the table every one of them have made secret deals with Hoffa so as to protect their picket lines." He recalled that Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy said that "he'll jump out of a window of the capitol" if the Teamsters return. "So let him jump," Quill said.

In speaking for the Teamsters' return, Curran said: "Bobby Kennedy is no trade unionist. He is a born millionaire." David Livingstone, president of District 65, Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union, called for mass organizing drives across the country. "We must find a common effort with the Teamsters," he said. "Without their cooperation there is little we can do."

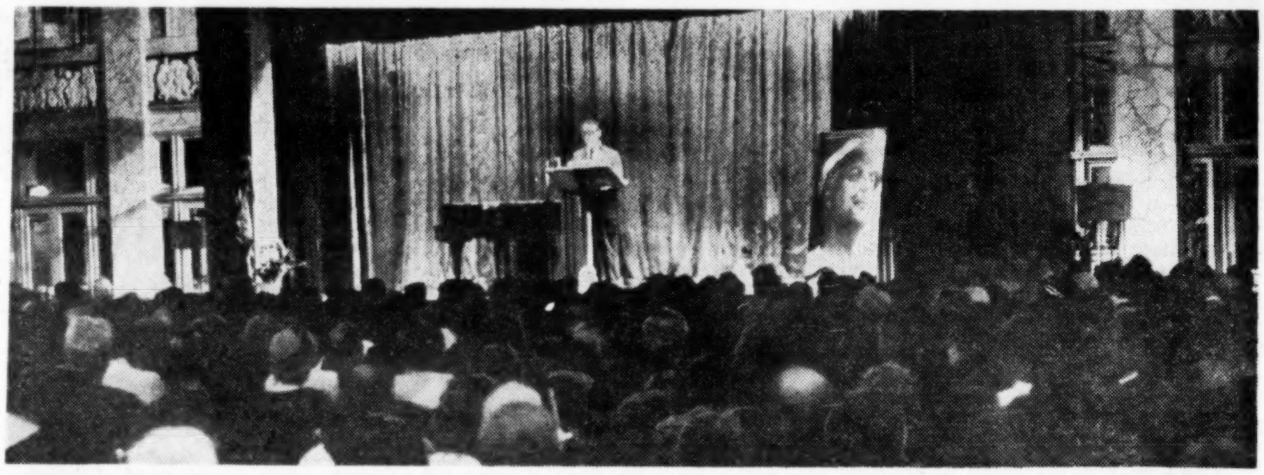
WAGE FREEZE: Many delegates also bridled at Kennedy's appeal for restraint and Goldberg's opposition to the shorter work week as a means of spreading employment. Harry Van Arsdale, president of the New York Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and head of the state labor council, announced that his union was ready to strike on New Year's Eve for a four-hour day. Steel Workers president David McDonald repeated his demand for a 32-hour week.

On a TV program, Hoffa suggested why the Administration wants him out of the AFL-CIO. He called the Kennedy-Goldberg proposals a wage freeze and said his union would not go along.

Meany gave civil rights proponents second thoughts on how far the federation would go in fighting discrimination. In a TV interview after the convention, he insisted that he did not consider jimcrow in labor as a problem as serious as corruption or communism.

In arguing for the Teamsters re-entry, Meat Cutters president Patrick Gorman noted: "We are not a convention of cardinals." Meany replied: "As far as I'm concerned, the [AFL-CIO] constitution is my Bible."

Under Meany's reading the good book casts Hoffa as the Devil. But if labor's deacons don't do more about organizing and unemployment, the Fallen Angel may be back in the fold leading the congregation before the next convention.



ABOUT 1,500 PERSONS PAID TRIBUTE TO JOHN T. McMANUS AT A SPECIAL MEMORIAL MEETING IN NEW YORK
A dozen friends and neighbors spoke, including James Aronson (at the mike) and Robert E. Light, for the GUARDIAN

John McManus 1904-1961

Here he lies. Now we weep. Bitter is our
grief.
Yet, hearken, my brothers:

Just yonder sits another John McManus
Pounding away his heart's blood
For you, for me, for all;
Smiling, running, climbing, calling.
We hear, we do not heed;
We see, we do not comprehend.
We are so busy, not God himself knows
how busy we are.
We have so little time.

So, suddenly yonder that McManus stops,
He gasps, he dies; we raise our cries,
Again the bitter wail.
Protest and sob, there as here and now.

Yet, on beyond still another John
McManus
Pounds his young heart away,
We have no time to vote, to meet, to talk.

So ever some young McManus
Sells his life to death
While we do naught but wail.

Stop, halt, hark!
We do this murder now,
We who do nothing when we could
Who grieve when grief is naught.

True grief is what we do, true sorrow
what we are,
Today.

—W. E. B. Du Bois

Shakespeare Festival in drive for sponsors

THE NEW YORK Shakespeare Festival has embarked on a campaign to enroll 15,000 sponsors to help defray the cost of its 1962 season. Last year's sponsors contributed $53,992, about a third of the season's expenses.

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Weekly! Soviet Films with English titles. Fri., Sat., 8 p.m. — Sun., 3 p.m. Russian Arts Club 2952 North Av. Dec. 22-24: **TARAS SHEVCHENKO** Dec. 29-31: **NEW YEAR'S CARNIVAL IN MOSCOW.** (English dialog, color, Russian songs) **& BOYS FROM LENINGRAD.** (Special 7:30 p.m. starting time for Fri. & Sat. showings of this laugh-packed double feature.)

Celebrate **NEW YEAR'S EVE** with Young Socialist Alliance. Dancing, Entertainment, Refreshments. Sun., Dec. 31, 9 p.m. at 777 W. Adams St. Contribution $1.

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WILLIAM WORTHY speaks on "The Cuban Revolution—Wave of the Future?" **Thurs., Dec. 28, 8 p.m.,** New Century Aud., 124 S. 12 St. Don. $1. Auspices: Fair Play for Cuba Comm.

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The 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (an eyewitness report) by **ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN.** Fri., Jan. 5, 8 p.m. Polonia Club. 201 2nd Av., nr. 13 St. Adm. 50c. Auspices: Manhattan Forum.

XMAS PARTY Sat., Dec. 23, 9 p.m. Dance - Drink - Entertainment Upshur Studio, 647 B'way (IRT Lex. Local to Bleecker St., IND Bway-Lafayette; BMT local Prince St. Cont. 99c. Ausp: Monroe Defense Committee.

JAZZ PARTY Sat. night, Dec. 23. Walter Bowe & his group featuring Ahmed **ABDUL-MALIK.** 20 Spruce St. (nr. City Hall), 9:30 p.m. Cont. 99c. Free black-eyed peas and rice.

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FORUM: McCarran Act and Youth. What's Behind the Speaker Ban? Hear Benjamin Davis, Communist Party, & guest speakers from the Emergency Civil Liberties Union, American Friends Service Comm. and Lawyers Guild. Fri., Dec. 22, at 8 p.m., at the Advance Clubhouse, 82 2nd Av. Cont. 75c adults, 35c teens. Ausp: Advance.

Wed., Dec. 27, 8 p.m. at 82—2nd Av. Hear **DR. HERBERT APTHEKER** speak on "Our Changing World." Cont. 75c adults, 35c teens. Auspices: Advance.

THE McCOMB MISSISSIPPI
CIVIL RIGHTS FIGHT
A Report by Participants
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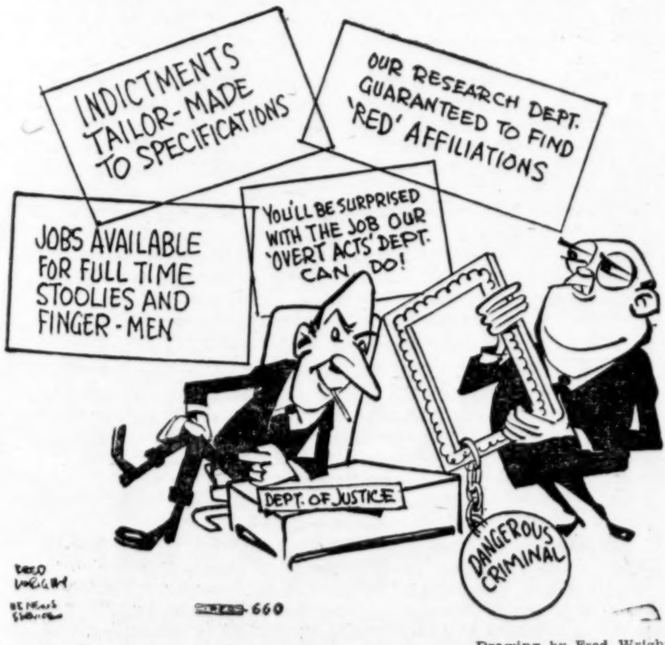
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ADVERTISERS!

Monday, Jan. 1, New Year's Day, is a holiday, Copy for ads for the Jan. 8 issue of The GUARDIAN must be received Friday, Dec. 29. Put your classified or display ad in the mail *now.*

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THE GALLERY

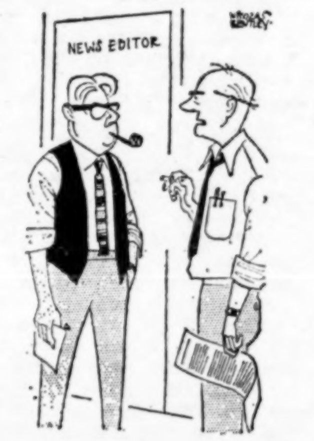
SOMETIMES IT DOESN'T PAY to be nice to people. Take the case of the skipper of the freighter Cottonwood Creek. On Dec. 11 he stopped to rescue two men in an 18-foot boat off Key West, Fla. The men insisted that they wanted to be let alone. But when the skipper called the Coast Guard, he was told to take them to Galveston.

When the freighter reached port, the men were identified as "John Stevens, a citizen of the United States" and "Reynaldo Silva, a citizen of Cuba." An atmosphere of secrecy surrounded the affair and the men disappeared before reporters could question them.

But on Dec. 13, the Houston **Post** broke the story. It said it had learned from "an entirely authoritative source" that "the two men were not lost. They were not in trouble. They were not supposed to be picked up." They were from the CIA on a Cuban mission.

The boat was painted black. It had a ship-to-shore radio, skin-diving equipment, underwater flashlights and sheath knives.

So, if you're off the Florida coast and you see men in a boat, butt out. If you must talk to them, the password is: Batista.



Bentley in the London Daily Mail

"Looks to me as if that leak in Washington about the Bonn leak on Moscow having leaked came from some drip in London."

TWO PSYCHIATRISTS SAID it was wrong to tell children that Santa Claus brings them gifts at Christmas time. Dr. James Gavin, director of institutions for the State of Colorado, said that telling children the legend in their early years forces parents to admit later that they lied. Dr. Rocco Motto, director of the Reiss-Davis Clinic in Los Angeles, said: "A successful parent-child relationship should be based on reality—with no fantasies being originated by the parent." Walter Alden Richards, who produces the TV show, "North Pole Review," said the psychiatrists and others who attack Santa are playing into the hands of the communists. He said there was "an insidious movement afoot in the United States to do away with religious legends, patriotism, tradition and ideals," traceable to communists . . . If the psychiatrists lose work as a result, they can sign on with the Saratoga Union school board. Mrs. John White, spokesman for a group of mothers, suggested that the trustees consult a psychiatrist in planning civil defense drills for elementary schools. She said that kindergarteners and first graders can't understand what is meant by "bomb drills." Without consulting a head doctor, the trustees worked out a program, taking Mrs. White's objections into account. It provided that "no school is to label a drill as a 'bomb drill.' It is to be called a civil defense drill." The trustees also held that schools should refrain from describing the effects of a nuclear bomb. This should be left to the parents.

FOR LAST-MINUTE Christmas Shopping: Merrin's on Madison Avenue is offering a set of 14-karat gold buttons for $95; 14-karat gold toothpicks, from $7.50 to $20; and four 14-karat, solid gold garters for $55 . . . The Chattanooga **Times** reported: "The British are laughing at the name of the new U.S. foreign aid agency. AID in England stands for Artificial Insemination Department." . . . An Atomic Energy Commission team inspected hillside caverns built by Pueblo Indians in New Mexico and pronounced them ideal fallout shelters . . . A less ideal shelter is in New Albany, Ind., where Edgar J. Bachman, his wife and four children descended for experimental living. "This will give us a chance to know each other better," Bachman told his family. When Mrs. Bachman left the shelter she headed for a lawyer and filed for divorce . . . Women Acting for Peace in San Francisco will hold a Holiday Program for Peace on Dec. 30 at Union Square, from noon to 2:30 p.m. . . . Vincent Hallinan's debate on the Catholic church on the TV show "PM-West" was rescheduled for Jan. 4.

—**Robert E. Light**

Robert E. Light will speak on "Fallout shelters: A dangerous strategy," on FM station WBAI (99.5) in New York on Thursday, Jan. 4, at 7 p.m. The program will be repeated the next day at 9:15 a.m.

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THE 'BALANCE' DOCTRINE APPLIED

Contempt cases heard

SEVEN APPEALS from contempt convictions for noncooperation with Congressional and state investigating committees were heard by the Supreme Court on Dec. 5, 7 and 11 (see the Spectator, this page). In view of the Court's current doctrine of "balance" in such cases, which holds that individual freedoms must be weighed against the "security" of the government, each appeal was argued on relatively narrow grounds.

Since the Court hardened into its present 5-4 division in all cases involving communist associations, all First Amendment contempt convictions except one have been upheld, beginning with the Barenblatt ruling during the Court's 1958-1959 term (GUARDIAN, Oct. 16.). The exception came when Justice Potter Stewart, the Court's newest member, switched his vote. His stand in the current cases will be decisive.

THE SHELTON CASE: The case of Robert Shelton, a copy editor for the New York **Times**, was called "subpena by accident" by his attorney, Joseph L. Rauh Jr. of Washington. In 1955, when the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee conducted an inquiry into the "communist infiltration of the press," a committee agent turned up at the New York **Times** with a subpena for "Willard Shelton." When told the **Times** had no Willard Shelton but had a Robert Shelton, the subpena server simply crossed out "Willard" and wrote "Robert."

On the witness stand Robert Shelton invoked the First Amendment in refusing to say if he were a member of the Communist Party, made other objections to the procedure and contended he had been subpenaed by mistake. He was convicted of contempt and sentenced to six months in jail and a fine of $500.

At Shelton's trial J. G. Sourwine, the Senate subcommittee's counsel, testified that the subcommittee had a letter signed "X" accusing a "Shelton" at the **Times** of subversive activities, but he refused to produce it on the grounds that it was confidential. Rauh argued before the Supreme Court that a Congressional committee could not call a witness unless it had some basis for doing so: "Under our Constitution, a Congressional committee can no more search a man's mind without probable cause than the constable can search his pockets."

A MATTER IF INJURY: Rauh said: "I can conceive of nothing more arbitrary than to let Congressional committees—with all the injury they can inflict—call witnesses without showing any reason."

Bruce J. Terris, arguing for the government, contended that a mistaken subpena would cause less injury to a citizen than a false arrest, whereupon Chief Justice Earl Warren asked: "Do you think in this day and age, when we're so possessed by fear of communism, that if a committee pulled a man off the street and asked, 'Are you a communist?' and he answered 'No' he would not be injured? Would his answer save him from public harm?"

During Shelton's trial the government had contended that a Congressional committee could call anyone off the street without showing any ground for believing his testimony might be relevant to its inquiry. But before the Supreme Court Terris took a different tack and conceded that "there must be a reasonable basis for believing that the witness has information of value to the committee." He held that Sourwine's testimony about the anonymous letter met that standard.

Justice Felix Frankfurter commented: "I don't know why you don't say that it is within the power of Congress to conduct investigations that result in damage to perfectly innocent citizens for which there is no judicial remedy."

"You phrase it so much better than I could," said Terris.

"It isn't a question of phrasing," said Frankfurter. "It's a question of candor."

THE WHITMAN CASE: Alden Whitman, also a copy editor of the **Times**, was subpenaed as a witness at the same hearing. He answered questions about himself, testifying that he had been a member of the Communist Party but had left it in 1948. He refused on First Amendment grounds to answer any questions about other persons.

He was given a six months suspended sentence and fined $500.

His attorney, Gerhard P. Van Arkel of Washington, read to the Supreme Court Whitman's reasons for refusing to answer questions about others. It said that he would not inform on others whose activity, to his knowledge, had been perfectly lawful, when giving such information could damage them irreparably or even destroy them.

Van Arkel, referring to the Court's doctrine of "balance" between the individual's right to privacy and the government's right to knowledge, said: "This moral, this humane, this disinterested reason is the most compelling reason of personal privacy this Court will ever find."

Van Arkel also argued that the committee's questions referred to lawful activities in the period between 1938 and 1948 and therefore could not be relevant to "infiltration of the press" at the time of the committee's inquiry.

THE RUSSELL CASE: Norton A. Russell, an engineer of Yellow Springs, Ohio, answered some questions but refused others on First Amendment grounds at a hearing of the House Committee on Un-American Activities in Dayton, Ohio, in September, 1954, and at another a month later in Washington. He was sentenced to 30 days in jail and a fine of $1,500.

His lawyer, Joseph A. Fanelli of Washington, argued before the Supreme Court that the indictment in this case and in several others was fatally defective because it did not spell out the "subject under inquiry" by the committee. Fanelli said the government must prove that particular questions asked are pertinent to the general topic being investigated.

THE GIBSON CASE: On Dec. 5 the Court heard the appeal of the Rev. Theodore R. Gibson, rector of the Christ Protestant Episcopal Church of Miami, Fla., and president of that city's branch of the Natl. Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People.

THE INQUISITION

Gibson had been called before the Florida Legislative Investigation Committee in November, 1959, during an NAACP campaign to open public parks and swimming pools to Negroes. Committee investigator J. R. Strickland presented him with the names and photographs of 14 persons identified by Strickland as communists and asked him if they were members of the NAACP. Gibson said "No," but then was directed to check the names against the NAACP membership list, which he refused to do. He was sentenced to six months in jail and a $1,200 fine.

Gibson's lawyer, Robert L. Carter, general counsel for the NAACP, argued that no facts were produced to connect his client with subversive organizations and that therefore there was no basis upon which the state could demand production of the organization's membership list. In 1959 the Supreme Court ruled that the Alabama NAACP could not be compelled to reveal a list of its members or contributors to state officials.

THE ACA CASES: On Dec. 4 the Supreme Court agreed to hear appeals from contempt convictions by two members of the American Communications Assn., Frank Grumman of Fort Lee, N.J., and Bernard Silber of New York City. Both declined to answer questions about their political affiliations at a House Un-American Activities Committee hearing in 1957. Both were sentenced to four months in jail and fines of $100. Their appeals challenge the committee's legislative purpose and ask a ruling on the extent to which a Congressional committee may "probe into associations of the remote past without any showing of necessity."

NEWSPAPER

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the SPECTATOR

A day in court

WASHINGTON

THE PRESS TABLE in the Supreme Court is a narrow, slanting, mahogany shelf broken between three marble pillars. The courtroom itself is no larger than the Superior Court of Merrimack County, N.H., where on Dec. 14, 1959, I had heard Dr. Willard Uphaus state for a final time " . . . that it is a mean and contemptible thing to bring innocent people into public scorn and loss of livelihood." It contrasts only in elegance with the Leon County Courthouse in Tallahassee, Fla., where on Aug. 30, 1960, Circuit Court Judge W. May Walker sentenced two leaders of the Miami NAACP to six months' imprisonment for their "grave and serious" contempt in refusing to permit inspection of NAACP membership records by a Florida legislative investigating committee.

The Supreme Court building is a marvel of marble, its floors so scrubbed and polished that one almost hesitates to put heel down first. The bench is loftier, but in its final pronouncements concerning the intrusion of Congressional and state legislative investigating committees into the First Amendment protected areas of free speech, press, worship, assembly and petition, it is deeply split 5 to 4.

In the last two years 54 men and women have fought this issue in the courts, 13 have served or are now serving (Carl Braden and Frank Wilkinson) prison terms, 35 still await final disposition.

On Monday, Dec. 11, I seated myself behind this narrow ledge at which Supreme Court reporters work in Washington, because my own day in court—six years in the making—had also come. I had asked an indulgence as a former newspaperman to cover this day in which my own conviction for contempt of Congress would be reviewed; the press table was still my natural habitat.

IN THE VISITOR'S SECTION of the court were John T. Gojack, former Midwest trade union leader, and Herman Liveright, former New Orleans TV producer, whose cases were also to be argued this day. The adjective "former" seemed a small measure of the impact of the years of witch-hunting by investigating committees.

For the House Un-American Activities Committee, Gojack's real crime had been his aggressive leadership as a district president of the United Electrical Workers and he had drawn blood from committee chairman Francis Walter, who said quite candidly, "I want the UE out of business." For the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, Liveright's real crime had been his attempt in New Orleans to introduce non-segregated TV programs. My subpena from the Senate committee seemed to have hinged on my candidacy, while a reporter on the New York **Daily News**, on a rank-and-file slate in 1949 which had been a modest effort to retain the sanity and unity which had characterized the two-term administration of the late John T. McManus.

The Justices sit behind a raised dais, Chief Justice Earl Warren in the center, the others seated away from him on each side in order of seniority. To Warren's left is Justice Felix Frankfurter, testy proponent of the majority doctrine which holds that a witness' First Amendment rights must be "balanced" against the needs of the state for security. To his right is Justice Hugo Black, incisive critic of this doctrine who holds that First Amendment guarantees are absolute. Both seem overpowered by the chief justice, whose physical height dominates the bench. Frankfurter has a habit of making a point, then swiveling his chair to look up and down the row of justices for reaction. He frequently gets it.

LIVERIGHT'S LAWYER, Harry Rand, had hardly started the day when Justice Harlan of the majority, referring to the decision which first enunciated the "balancing" doctrine, commented, "You don't like **Barenblatt.**" Justice Black was quick to ask pointedly, "**Barenblatt** doesn't hold to all cases for all time, does it?"

Rand carried the "balancing" argument directly to Frankfurter with the intricate weighing that this doctrine requires in each case. Confronted with his own test, Frankfurter commented, "Next we'll have apothecary scales in here."

While still taking notes, I heard the Chief Justice read from the docket, "Number twelve, William A. Price, petitioner, versus the United States." Leonard Boudin of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee had 30 minutes to present the case. He attacked the Senate committee hearings which had been directed at the New York press as an effort to "undermine a free press" and quoted, over Frankfurter's objections, comments by Walter Lippmann at the time who had said, "The crucial question posed by the Eastland committee is whether Congress has the power to censor the individual employes of a newspaper by its power to investigate," and who described as "one of the prime duties" of newspapermen the need "to refuse to assent to and instead to oppose the setting up of a precedent that can lead to the gravest abuse."

THEN CAME FRANK J. DONNER, author of **The Un-Americans**, to argue for Gojack. "My client wasn't accidentally hit by a legislative street car," Donner told the court. "The committee intended to do him injury." Donner outlined the story of Gojack's subpena just in advance of a 1955 NLRB election of the UE.

Donner described the committee's attack on Gojack as a "dry lynching" and said the committee "could have hired a sandwich man to anounce exposure as its purpose."

These cases were the last of seven to be argued before the Supreme Court in a week's time (see story this page).

Hopefully under the impact of these recently argued cases and three more yet to come during this Supreme Court term, if the court can still find no absolute guides in the First Amendment, it may at least close some of the loopholes.

—William A. Price